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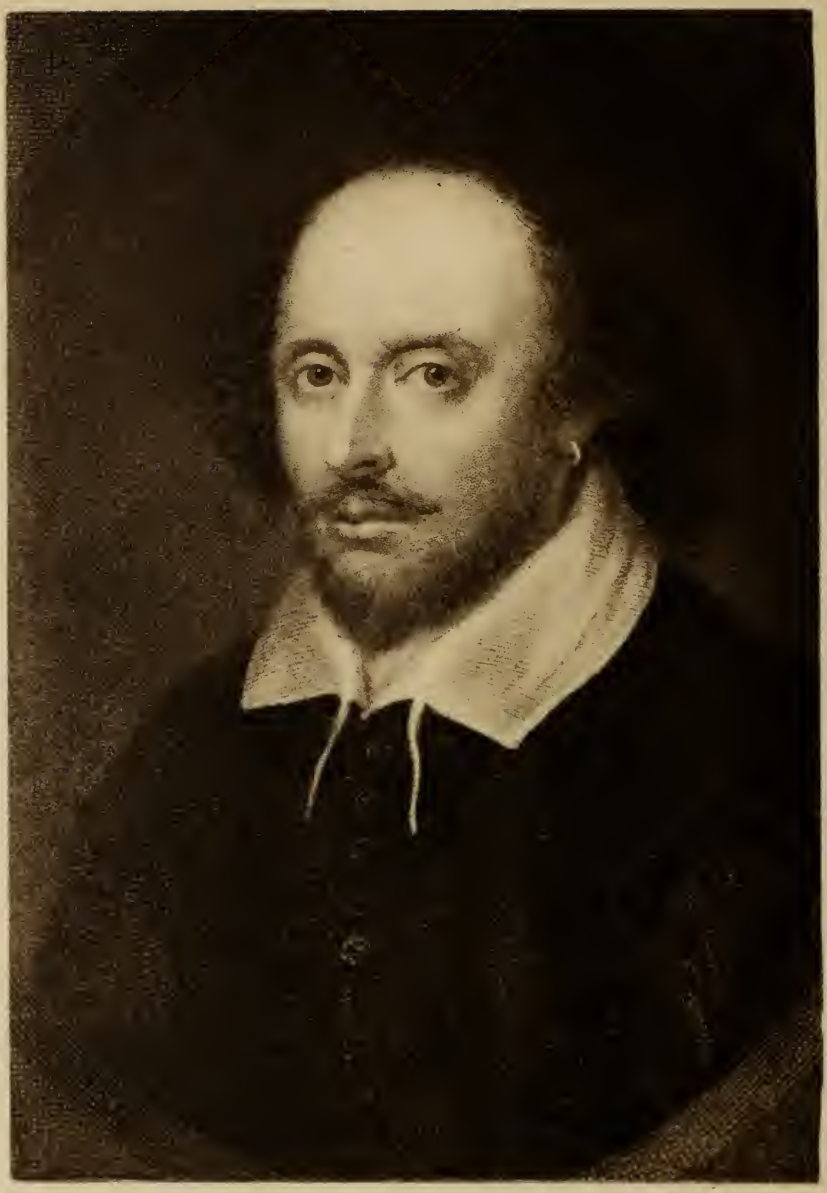
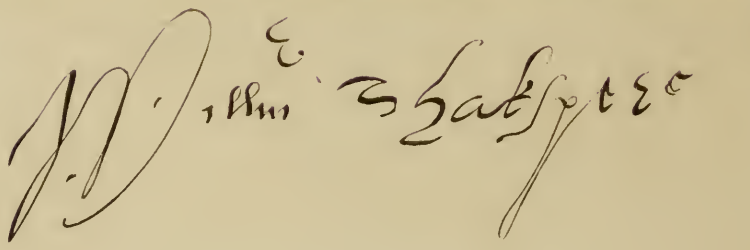
THE LIFE OF
WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE





WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

" This figure, that thou here seest put,
It was for gentle Shakespeare cut :
Wherein the Graver had a strife
With Nature to outdo the life ;
O, could he but have drawn his wit
As well in brass, as he hath hit
His face ; the Print would then surpass
All that was ever writ in brass.
But since he cannot, Reader, look
Not at his picture, but his book."

BEN JONSON

B 9 w
V. 1

THE WORKS OF

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

Volume 1

Life of William Shakespeare

Henry VI, Part I

THE NOTTINGHAM SOCIETY

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

One Shakespearean scholar has said "All that is known with any degree of certainty concerning Shakespeare, is—that he was born at Stratford-upon-Avon—married and had children there—went to London, where he commenced actor, and wrote poems and plays—returned to Stratford, made his will, died, and was buried." In one way this is true but we can know by studying the children of his mind what kind of a man he was. And as the centuries pass by it is not the details of a man's life that interest us but the character of the man, himself, and his thoughts, and what he left to posterity.

Some of us have much leisure time at our disposal and can spend our hours in following this pleasurable study; others have a work that gives an opportunity for the same study; but the majority of us have so many duties that the study-hours are few and far between and they generally come when we are physically tired and unable to enjoy delving for the beauties and meanings of the author. For this last group is this set of SHAKESPEARE'S WORKS especially designed, although the others may find it of some interest.

In the first volume is a Life of the Poet by James Orchard Halliwell-Phillipps, of the merits of which it is unnecessary to speak here since its author's name is an assurance of its accuracy and its attractiveness. This is followed by a CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS, by a LIST OF CONTEMPORARY PLAYS, and by an INDEX OF THE

CHARACTERS IN THE PLAYS. In the remaining volumes are the works of Shakespeare. Each play is preceded by a Preface by Israel Gollancz, M.A., an Introduction by Henry Norman Hudson, A.M., Comments by Shakespearean Scholars, and a Synopsis by the Editor; notes, explanatory and critical, by three scholars, Israel Gollancz, Henry Norman Hudson, and C. H. Herford, accompany the text, being placed on the same page as the matter to which they refer; a Glossary by Israel Gollancz, M.A., and Study Questions complete each volume.

It is not necessary to acknowledge in this Preface our obligations to other editors of Shakespeare's works, for we have credited every quotation or comment where we have used it.

J. ELLIS BURDICK

NEW YORK CITY.

THE LIFE OF
WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

THE LIFE OF
WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

By James Orchard Halliwell-Phillipps, F.R.S.

In the reign of King Edward the Sixth there lived in Warwickshire a farmer named Richard Shakespeare, who rented a messuage and a considerable quantity of land at Snitterfield, an obscure village in that county. He had two sons, one of whom, named Henry, continued throughout his life to reside in the same parish. John, the other son, left his father's home about the year 1551, and, shortly afterwards, is found residing in the neighboring and comparatively large borough of Stratford-on-Avon, in the locality which has been known from the middle ages to the present day as Henley Street, so called from its being the terminus of the road from Henley-in-Arden, a market-town about eight miles distant.

At this period, and for many generations afterwards, the sanitary condition of the thoroughfares of Stratford-on-Avon was, to our present notions, simply terrible. Under-surface drainage of every kind was then an unknown art in the district. There was a far greater extent of moisture in the land than would now be thought possible, and streamlets of a water-power sufficient for the operations of corn-mills meandered through the town. This general humidity intensified the evils arising from the

want of scavengers, or other effective appliances for the preservation of cleanliness. House-slops were recklessly thrown into ill-kept channels that lined the sides of unmetalled roads; pigs and geese too often reveled in the puddles and ruts; while here and there small middens were ever in the course of accumulation, the receptacles of offal and every species of nastiness. A regulation for the removal of these collections to certain specified localities interspersed through the borough, and known as common dung-hills, appears to have been the extent of the interference that the authorities ventured or cared to exercise in such matters. Sometimes, when the nuisance was thought to be sufficiently flagrant, they made a raid on those inhabitants who had suffered their refuse to accumulate largely in the highways. On one of these occasions, in April, 1552, John Shakespeare was amerced in the sum of twelve-pence for having amassed what was no doubt a conspicuous *sterquinarium* before his house in Henley Street, and under these unsavory circumstances does the history of the poet's father commence in the records of England. But although there was little excuse for his negligence, one of the public stores of filth being within a stone's throw of his residence, all that can be said to his disparagement is that he was not in advance of his neighbors in such matters, two of whom were coincidently fined for the same offense.

For some years subsequently to this period, John Shakespeare was a humble tradesman at Stratford-on-Avon, holding no conspicuous position in the town; yet still he must have been tolerably successful in business, for in October, 1556, he purchased two small freehold estates, one being the building in Henley Street annexed to that which is

BIRTHPLACE OF SHAKESPEARE.

Stratford-on-Avon.

now shown as the Birth-Place, and the other situated in Greenhill Street, a road afterwards called More Towns End. In the year 1557, however, his fortunes underwent an important change through an alliance with Mary, the youngest and fondly-loved daughter of Robert Arden, a wealthy farmer of Wilmecote, near Stratford-on-Avon, who had died a few months previously. A wealthy farmer, indeed, for those days, and one who would have been specially so distinguished in the contemporary provincial estimate. He possessed two farm-houses with a hundred acres or more of land at Snitterfield, as well as another one with about fifty acres at Wilmecote, the former being occupied by tenants and the latter by himself. In addition to these he owned a copyhold estate in the last-named parish, the extent of which has not been ascertained. But with all these advantages he was a farmer, and nothing more,—a worthy fellow whose main anxiety, as fully appears from the records, centered in the welfare of his family, and who had no desire to emulate, however remotely, the position of a country gentleman. The appointments of his dwelling were probably, however, superior on the whole to those which were to be found in other residences of the same class, including no fewer than eleven painted-cloths, a species of artistic decoration that was in those days a favorite substitute for the more expensive tapestry. Pictures of the kind that are now familiar to us were then very rarely indeed to be seen, excepting in palaces or in the larger mansions of the nobility. These painted-cloths were generally formed of canvas upon which were depicted the "Seven Ages of Man," the "Story of the Prodigal," and such like; grotesque accompaniments, in one or more of the rooms, to the "bacon in the roof."

The inventory of Robert Arden's goods, which was taken shortly after his death in 1556, enables us to realize the kind of life that was followed by the poet's mother during her girlhood. In the total absence of books or means of intellectual education, her acquirements must have been restricted to an experimental knowledge of matters connected with the farm and its house. There can be no doubt that the maiden with the pretty name, she who has been so often represented as a nymph of the forest, communing with nothing less æsthetic than a nightingale or a waterfall, spent most of her time in the homeliest of rustic employments; and it is not at all improbable that, in common with many other farmers' daughters of the period, she occasionally assisted in the more robust occupations of the field. It is at all events not very likely that a woman, unendowed with an exceptionally healthy and vigorous frame, could have been the parent of a Shakespeare. Of her personal character or social gifts nothing whatever is known, but it would be a grave error to assume that the rude surroundings of her youth were incompatible with the possession of a romantic temperament and the highest form of subjective refinement. Existence, indeed, was passed in her father's house in some respects, we should now say, rather after the manner of pigs than that of human beings. Many of the articles that are considered necessaries in the humblest of modern cottages were not to be seen,—there were no table-knives, no forks, no crockery. The food was manipulated on flat pieces of stout wood, too insignificant in value to be catalogued, and whatever there may have been to supply the places of spoons or cups were no doubt roughly formed of the same material; but some of the larger objects, such as kitchen-pans, may have been of

pewter or latten. The means of ablution were lamentably defective, if, indeed, they were not limited to what could have been supplied by an insulated pail of water, for what were called towels were merely used for wiping the hands after a meal, and there was not a single wash-hand basin in the establishment. As for the inmate and other laborers, it was very seldom indeed, if ever, that they either washed their hands or combed their hair, nor is there the least reason for suspecting that those accomplishments were in liberal requisition in the dwellings of their employers. But surely there was nothing in all this to have excluded the unlettered damsel from a fervid taste for oral romance, that which was then chiefly represented by tales of the fairies, the knights, or the giants,—nothing to debar the high probability of her recitals of them having fascinated her illustrious son in the days of his childhood,—nothing to disturb the graceful suggestion that some of his impressions of perfect womanhood had their origin in his recollections of the faultless nature of the matron of Henley Street.

The maiden name of Robert Arden's wife has not been discovered, but it is ascertained that he had contracted a second marriage with Agnes Hill, the widow of a substantial farmer of Bearley, and that, in a settlement which was probably made on that occasion, he had reserved to his daughter Mary the reversion to a portion of a large estate at Snitterfield, her step-mother taking only a life-interest. Some part of this land was in the occupation of Richard Shakespeare, the poet's grandfather, whence may have arisen the acquaintanceship between the two families. In addition to this reversion, Mary Arden received, under the provisions of her father's will, not only a handsome pe-

cuniary legacy, but the fee-simple of a valuable property at Wilmecote, the latter, which was known as Asbies, consisting of a house with nearly sixty acres of land. An estimate of these advantages, viewed relatively to his own position, would no doubt have given John Shakespeare the reputation among his neighbors of having married an opulent heiress, his now comparative affluence investing him with no small degree of local importance. His official career at once commenced by his election in 1557 as one of the ale-tasters, an officer appointed for the supervision of malt liquors and bread. About the same time he was received into the Corporation, taking the lowest rank, as was usual with new comers, that of a burgess; and in the September of the following year, 1558, he was appointed one of the four petty constables by a vote of the jury of the Court Leet. He was re-elected to that quaternion on October 6, 1559, for another year, and on the same day he was chosen one of the affeerors appointed to determine the fines for those offenses which were punishable arbitrarily, and for which no express penalties were prescribed by statute. This latter office he again filled in 1561, when he was elected one of the Chamberlains of the borough, an office that he held for two years, delivering his second account to the Corporation in the first month of 1564.

The ostensible business followed by John Shakespeare was that of a glover, but after his marriage he speculated largely in wool purchased from the neighboring farmers, and occasionally also dealt in corn and other articles. In those days, especially in small provincial towns, the concentration of several trades into the hands of one person was very usual, and, in many cases, no matter how numerous and complicated were the intermediate processes, the

producer of the raw material was frequently its manufacturer. Thus a glover might, and sometimes did, rear the sheep that furnished him with meat, skins, wool, and leather. Whether John Shakespeare so conducted his business is unknown, but it is certain that in addition to his trade in gloves, which also, as was usual, included the sale of divers articles made of leather, he entered into a variety of other speculations.

In Henley Street, in what was for those days an unusually large and commodious residence for a provincial tradesman, and upon or almost immediately before April 22, 1564, but most probably on that Saturday, the eldest son of John and Mary Shakespeare, he who was afterwards to be the national poet of England, was born. An apartment on the first floor of that house is shown to this day, through unvarying tradition, as the birth-room of the great dramatist, who was baptized on the following Wednesday, April 26, receiving the Christian name of William. He was then, and continued to be for more than two years, an only child, two girls, daughters of the same parents, who were born previously, having died in their infancy.

The house in which Shakespeare was born must have been erected in the first half of the sixteenth century, but the alterations that it has since undergone have effaced much of its original character. Inhabited at various periods by tradesmen of different occupations, it could not possibly have endured through the long course of upwards of three centuries without having been subjected to numerous repairs and modifications. The general form and arrangement of the tenement that was purchased in 1556 may yet, however, be distinctly traced, and many of the old timbers, as well as pieces of the ancient rough

stone-work, still remain. There are also portions of the chimneys, the fire-place surroundings and the stone basement-floor, that have been untouched; but most, if not all, of the lighter wood-work belongs to a more recent period. It may be confidently asserted that there is only one room in the entire building which has not been greatly changed since the days of the poet's boyhood. This is the antique cellar under the sitting-room, from which it is approached by a diminutive flight of steps. It is a very small apartment, measuring only nine by ten feet, but near "that small most greatly liv'd this star of England."

In the July of this year of the poet's birth, 1564, a violent plague, intensified no doubt by sanitary neglect, broke out in the town, but the family in Henley Street providentially escaped its ravages. John Shakespeare contributed on this occasion fairly, at least, if not liberally, both towards the relief of the poor and of those who were attacked by the epidemic.

In March, 1565, John Shakespeare, with the assistance of his former colleague in the same office, made up the accounts of the Chamberlains of the borough for the year ending at the previous Michaelmas. Neither of these worthies could even write their own names, but nearly all tradesmen then reckoned with counters, the results on important occasions being entered by professional scriveners. The poet's father seems to have been an adept in the former kind of work, for in February, 1566, having been elected an alderman in the previous summer, he individually superintended the making up of the accounts of the Chamberlains for the preceding official year, at which time he was paid over three pounds, equivalent to more than thirty of present money, that had been owing to him for some

time by the Corporation. In the month of October, 1566, another son, who was christened Gilbert on the thirteenth, was born, the poet being then nearly two and a half years old. This Gilbert, who was educated at the Free School, in after life entered into business in London as a haberdasher, returning, however, in the early part of the following century, to his native town, where he is found, in 1602, completing an important legal transaction with which he was entrusted by the great dramatist. His Christian name was probably derived from that of one of his father's neighbors, Gilbert Bradley, who was a glover in Henley Street, residing near the Birth-Place and on the same side of the way.

In September, 1567, Robert Perrot, a brewer, John Shakespeare, and Ralph Cawdrey, a butcher, were nominated for the office of the High Bailiff, or, as that dignitary was subsequently called, the Mayor. The last-named candidate was the one who was elected. It is upon this occasion that the poet's father is alluded to for the first time in the local records as "Mr. Shakspeyr." He had been previously therein mentioned either as John Shakespeare, or briefly as Shakespeare, and the addition of the title was in those days no small indication of an advance in social position. There is, indeed, no doubt that, during the early years of Shakespeare's boyhood, his father was one of the leading men in Stratford-on-Avon. On September 4, 1568, John Shakespeare,—"Mr. John Shaksper," as he is called in that day's record,—was chosen High Bailiff, attaining thus the most distinguished official position in the town after an active connection with its affairs during the preceding eleven years. The poet had entered his fifth year in the previous month of April, the

family in Henley Street now consisting of his parents, his brother Gilbert, who was very nearly two years old, and himself.

The new religious system was now firmly established at Stratford. Although the churchwardens' accounts are not preserved, and the materials for the local ecclesiastical history are exceedingly scanty, there are entries in the town archives respecting the Guild Chapel which leave no doubt on the subject. The rood-loft is mentioned as having been taken down in the year of the poet's birth, 1564, a number of the images in the building having been previously "defaced," that is to say, at some time between Michaelmas, 1562, and Michaelmas, 1563, John Shakespeare himself having been on the latter occasion one of the chamberlains through whom the expenses of the mutilation were defrayed. Under these circumstances there can be little if any doubt that, at the time of his accession to an office that legally involved the responsibility of taking the oath of supremacy, he had outwardly conformed to the Protestant rule, and there is certainly as little that he was one of the many of those holding a similar position in the Catholic stronghold of Warwickshire who were secretly attached to the old religion. If this had not been the case, it is impossible to believe, no matter how plausible were the explanations that were offered, that his name could, at a subsequent period and after the great penal legislation of 1581, have been included in more than one list of suspected recusants. For this he has been termed an unconscientious hypocrite, but he shared his dissimulation with myriads of his countrymen, and it is altogether unfair to place an enforced in the same category with a spontaneous insincerity. Some anyhow will be found to say a kind word in

excuse for a man who, in times of a virulent and crushing persecution, was unwilling to sacrifice the temporal interests of his wife and children as well as his own on the altar of open non-conformity. It should be added that the vestments belonging to the Church of the Holy Trinity, which had been out of use for some years, were sold by the Corporation in 1571; and these were among the last remaining vestiges of a ritual that was not publicly celebrated at Stratford in the life-time of the great dramatist.

It must have been somewhere about this period, 1568, that Shakespeare entered into the mysteries of the horn-book and the A. B. C. Although both his parents were absolutely illiterate, they had the sagacity to appreciate the importance of an education for their son, and the poet, somehow or other, was taught to read and write, the necessary preliminaries to admission into the Free School. There were few persons at that time at Stratford-on-Avon capable of initiating him even into these preparatory accomplishments, but John Shakespeare, in his official position, could hardly have encountered much difficulty in finding a suitable instructor. There was, for instance, Higford, the Steward of the Court of Record, and the person who transcribed some of his accounts when he was the borough Chamberlain; but it is as likely as not that the poet received the first rudiments of education from older boys who were some way advanced in their school career.

A passion for the drama is with some natures an instinct, and it would appear that the poet's father had an express taste in that direction. At all events, dramatic entertainments are first heard of at Stratford-on-Avon during the year of his bailiffship, and were, it may fairly be

presumed, introduced in unison with his wishes as they certainly must have been with his sanction. At some period between Michaelmas, 1568, and the same day in 1569, the Queen's and the Earl of Worcester's players visited the town and gave representations before the Council, the former company receiving nine shillings and the latter twelve pence for their first performances, to which the public were admitted without payment. They doubtlessly gave other theatrical entertainments with stated charges for admission, but there would, of course, be no entries of those performances in the municipal accounts; and sometimes there were bodies of actors in the town to whom the official liberality was not extended. No notice whatever of the latter companies would have been registered.

Were it not for the record of a correlative incident, it would have been idle to have hazarded a conjecture on the interesting question,—was the poet, who was then in his fifth or sixth year, a spectator at either of these performances? If, however, it can be shown that, in a neighboring county about the same time, there was an inhabitant of a city who took his little boy, one born in the same year with Shakespeare, 1564, to a free dramatic entertainment exhibited as were those at Stratford-on-Avon before the Corporation under precisely similar conditions, there then arises a reasonable probability that we should be justified in giving an affirmative reply to the enquiry. There is such an evidence in the account left by a person of the name of Willis, of "a stage-play which I saw when I was a child," and included by him in a confidential narrative of his moral and religious life, a sort of autobiog-

raphy, which, in his old age, he addressed to his wife and children.

The curious narrative given by Willis is in the following terms,—"in the city of Gloucester the manner is, as I think it is in other like corporations, that, when players of enterludes come to towne, they first attend the Mayor to enforme him what noble-mans servants they are, and so to get licence for their publike playing; and if the Mayor like the actors, or would shew respect to their lord and master, he appoints them to play their first play before himselfe and the Aldermen and Common Counsell of the city; and that is called the Mayors play, where every one that will comes in without money, the Mayor giving the players a reward as hee thinks fit to shew respect unto them. At such a play my father tooke me with him, and made mee stand between his leggs as he sate upon one of the benches, where wee saw and heard very well. The play was called the *Cradle of Security*, wherin was personated a king or some great prince, with his courtiers of severall kinds, amongst which three ladies were in speciall grace with him; and they, keeping him in delights and pleasures, drew him from his graver counsellors, hearing of sermons and listning to good counsell and admonitions, that, in the end, they got him to lye downe in a cradle upon the stage, where these three ladies, joyning in a sweet song, rocked him asleepe that he snorted againe; and in the meane time closely conveyed under the cloaths wherewithall he was covered a vizard, like a swine's snout, upon his face, with three wire chaines fastned thereunto, the other end whereof being holden severally by those three ladies who fall to singing againe, and then discovered his face that the spec-

tators might see how they had transformed him, going on with their singing. Whilst all this was acting, there came forth of another doore at the farthest end of the stage two old men, the one in blew with a serjeant-at-armes his mace on his shoulder, the other in red with a drawn sword in his hand and leaning with the other hand upon the others shoulder; and so they two went along in a soft pace round about by the skirt of the stage, till at last they came to the cradle, when all the court was in greatest jollity; and then the foremost old man with his mace stroke a fearfull blow upon the cradle, whereat all the courtiers, with the three ladies and the vizard, all vanished; and the desolate prince starting up bare-faced, and finding himselfe thus sent for to judgement, made a lamentable complaint of his miserable case, and so was carried away by wicked spirits. This prince did personate in the morrall the Wicked of the World; the three ladies, Pride, Covetousnesse and Luxury; the two old men, the End of the World and the Last Judgment. This sight tooke such impression in me that, when I came towards mans estate, it was as fresh in my memory as if I had seen it newly acted," (Willis's *Mount Tabor or Private Exercises of a Penitent Sinner*, published in the yeare of his age 75, anno Dom. 1639, pp. 110-113. Who can be so pitiless to the imagination as not to erase the name of Gloucester in the preceding anecdote, and replace it by that of Stratford-on-Avon?

Homely and rude as such an allegorical drama as the *Cradle of Security* would now be considered, it was yet an advance in dramatic construction upon the medieval religious plays generally known as mysteries, which were still in favor with the public and were of an exceedingly

primitive description. The latter were, however, put on the stage with far more elaborate appliances, there being no reason for believing that the itinerant platform of the later drama was provided with much beyond a few properties. The theater of the mysteries consisted of a movable wooden rectangular structure of two rooms one over the other, the lower closed, the upper one, that in which the performances took place, being open at least on one side to the audience. The vehicle itself, every portion of which that was visible to the audience was grotesquely painted, was furnished in the upper room with tapestries that answered the purposes of scenery, and with mechanical appliances for the disposition of the various objects introduced, such as hell-mouth, a favorite property on the ancient English stage. This consisted of a huge face constructed of painted canvas exhibiting glaring eyes and a red nose of enormous dimensions; the whole so contrived with movable jaws of large, projecting teeth, that, when the mouth opened, flames could be seen within the hideous aperture; the fire being probably represented by the skillful management of links or torches held behind the painted canvas. There was frequently at the back of the stage a raised platform to which there was an ascent by steps from the floor of the pageant and sometimes an important part of the action of the mystery was enacted upon it. Some of the properties however rude, must have been of large dimensions. They were generally made of wood, which was invariably painted, but some appear to have been constructed of basket-work covered over with painted cloths. The larger ones were cities with pinnacles and towers, kings' palaces, temples, castles and such like, some probably not very unlike decorated

sentry-boxes. Among the miscellaneous properties may be named "a rybbe colleryd red," which was no doubt used in the mystery of the creation. Clouds were represented by painted cloths so contrived that they could open and show angels in the heavens. Horses and other like animals were generally formed with hoops and laths that were wrapped in canvas, the latter being afterwards painted in imitation of nature. Artificial trees were introduced, and so were beds, tombs, pulpits, ships, ladders, and numerous other articles. One of the quaintest contrivances was that which was intended to convey the idea of an earthquake, which seems to have been attempted by means of some mechanism within a barrel. In the lower room, connected with pulleys in the upper part of the pageant, was a windlass used for the purpose of lowering or raising the larger properties, and for various objects for which movable ropes could be employed. Some of the other machinery was evidently of an ingenious character, but its exact nature has not been ascertained.

The costumes of many of the personages in the mysteries were of a grotesque and fanciful description but in some instances, as in those of Adam and Eve, there was an attempt to make the dresses harmonize with the circumstances of the history. Some writers, interpreting the stage-directions too literally, have asserted that those characters were introduced upon the pageant in a state of nudity. This was certainly not the case. When they were presumed to be destitute of clothing, they appeared in dresses made either of white leather or of flesh-colored cloths, over which at the proper time were thrown the garments of skins. There were no doubt some incidents

represented in the old English mysteries which would now be considered indecorous, but it should be borne in mind that every age has, within certain limits, its own conventional and frequently irrational sentiments of toleration and propriety. Adam and Eve attired in white leather and pensonified by men, for actresses were then unknown, scarcely could have realized to the spectator even a generic idea of the nude, but at all events there was nothing in any of the theatrical costumes of the early drama which can be fairly considered to be of an immodest character, although many of them were extravagantly whimsical. Thus Herod was always introduced wearing red gloves, while his clothes and headgear seem to have been painted or dyed in a variety of colors, so that, as far as costume could assist the deception, he probably appeared, when brandishing his flaming sword, as fierce and hideous a tyrant as could well have been represented. Pontius Pilate was usually enwrapped in a large green cloak, which opened in front to enable him to wield an immense club. The latter was humanely adapted to his strength by the weight being chiefly restricted to that of the outer case, the inside being lightly stuffed with wool. The Devil was another important character, who was also grotesquely arrayed and had a mask or false head which frequently required either mending or painting. Masks were worn by several other personages, though it would appear that in some instances the operation of painting the faces of the actors was substituted. Wigs of false hair, either gilded or of red, yellow, and other colors, were also much in request.

That Shakespeare, in his early youth, witnessed representations of some of these mysteries, can-

not admit of a reasonable doubt; for although the ordinary church-plays were by no means extinct, they survived only in particular localities, and do not appear to have been retained in Stratford or its neighborhood. The performances which then took place nearly every year at Coventry attracted hosts of spectators from all parts of the country, while, at occasional intervals, the mystery players of that city made theatrical progresses to various other places. It is not known whether they favored Stratford-on-Avon with a professional visit, but it is not at all improbable that they did, for they must have passed through the town in their way to Bristol, where it is recorded that they gave a performance in the year 1570. Among the mysteries probably recollected by Shakespeare was one in which the King was introduced as Herod of Jewry, in which the children of Bethlehem were barbarously speared, the soldiers disregarding the frantic shrieks of the bereaved mothers. In the collection known as the *Coventry Mysteries*, a soldier appears before Herod with a child on the end of his spear in evidence of the accomplishment of the King's commands, a scene to be remembered, however rude may have been the property which represented the infant; while the extravagance of rage, which formed one of the then main dramatic characteristics of that sovereign, must have made a deep impression on a youthful spectator. The idea of such a history being susceptible of exaggeration into burlesque never entered a spectator's mind in those days, and the impression made upon him was probably increased by the style of Herod's costume.

Besides the allusions made by the great dramatist to

the Herod of the Coventry players, there are indications that other grotesque performers were occasionally in his recollection, those who with blackened faces acted the parts of the Black Souls. There are several references in Shakespeare to condemned souls being of this color, and in one place there is an illusion to them in the language of the mysteries. Falstaff is reported to have said of a flea on Bardolph's red nose that "it was a black soul burning in hell;" and, in the Coventry plays, the Black or Damned Souls appeared with sooty faces and attired in a motley costume of yellow and black. It is certainly just possible that the notions of Herod and the Black Souls may have been derived from other sources, but the more natural probability is that they are absolute recollections of the Coventry plays.

The period of Shakespeare's boyhood was also that of what was practically the last era of the real ancient English mystery. There were, it is true, occasional performances of them up to the reign of James the First, but they became obsolete throughout nearly all the country about the year 1580. Previously to the latter date they had for many generations served as media for religious instruction. In days when education of any kind was a rarity, and spiritual religion an impossibility or at least restricted to very few, appeals to the senses in illustration of theological subjects were wisely encouraged by the Church. The impression made on the rude and uninstructed mind by the representations of incidents in sacred history and religious tradition by living characters, must have been far more profound than any which could have been conveyed by the genius of the sculptor or painter, or by the eloquence of the priest.

Notwithstanding, therefore, the opposition that these performances encountered at the hands of a section of churchmen, who apprehended that the introduction of the comic element would ultimately tend to feelings of irreverence, it is found that, in spite of occasional abuses, they long continued to be one of the most effectual means of disseminating a knowledge of Scriptural history and of inculcating belief in the doctrines of the Church. In the Hundred Mery Talys, a collection which was very popular in England throughout the sixteenth century, there is a story of a village priest in Warwickshire who preached a sermon on the Articles of the Creed, telling the congregation at the end of his discourse,—"these artycles ye be bounde to beleve, for they be trew and of auctoryté; and yf you beleve not me, then for a more suerté and suffycyent auctoryté go your way to Conventré, and there ye shall se them all playd in Corpus Cristi playe." Although this is related as a mere anecdote, it well illustrates the value which was then attached to the teachings of the ancient stage. Even as lately as the middle of the seventeenth century there could have been found in England an example of a person whose knowledge of the Scriptures was limited to his recollections of the performance of a mystery. The Rev. John Shaw, who was the temporary chaplain in a village in Lancashire in 1644, narrates the following curious anecdote respecting one of its inhabitants,—"one day an old man about sixty, sensible enough in other things, and living in the parish of Cartmel, coming to me about some business, I told him that he belonged to my care and charge, and I desired to be informed in his knowledge of religion; —I asked him how many Gods there were; he said, he

knew not;—I, informing him, asked him again how he thought to be saved; he answered he could not tell, yet thought that was a harder question than the other;—I told him that the way to salvation was by Jesus Christ, God-man, who, as He was man, shed His blood for us on the crosse, etc.;—Oh, sir, said he, I think I heard of that man you speak of once in a play at Kendall called *Corpus Christi Play*, where there was a man on a tree and blood ran downe, etc., and after he professed that he could not remember that ever he heard of salvation by Jesus Christ but in that play." It is impossible to say to what extent even the Scriptural allusions in the works of Shakespeare himself may not be attributed to recollections of such performances, for in one instance at least the reference by the great dramatist is to the history as represented in those plays, not to that recorded in the New Testament. The English mysteries, indeed, never lost their position as religious instructors, a fact which, viewed in connection with that of a widely-spread affection for the old religion, appears to account for their long continuance in a practically unaltered state while other forms of the drama were being developed by their side. From the fourteenth century until the termination of Shakespeare's youthful days they remained the simple poetic versions in dialogue of religious incidents of various kinds, enlivened by the occasional admission of humorous scenes. In some few instances the theological narrative was made subservient to the comic action, but as a rule the mysteries were designed to bring before the audience merely the personages and events of religious history. Allegorical characters had been occasionally introduced, and about the middle of the fifteenth

century there appeared a new kind of English dramatic composition apparently borrowed from France, in which the personages were either wholly or almost exclusively of that description. When the chief object of a performance of this nature, like that of the *Cradle of Security* previously described, was to inculcate a moral lesson, it was sometimes called either a Moral or a Moral-play, terms which continued in use till the seventeenth century, and were licentiously applied by some early writers to any dramas which were of an ethical or educational character. Morals were not only performed in Shakespeare's day, but continued to be a then recognized form of dramatic composition. Some of them were nearly as simple and inartificial as the mysteries, but others were not destitute of originality, or even of the delineation of character and manners. There was, however, no consecutive or systematic development of either the mystery into the moral or the moral into the historical and romantic drama, although there are examples in which the specialities of each are curiously intermingled. Each species of the early English drama appears for the most part to have pursued its own separate and independent career.

In April, 1569, the poet's sister, Joan, was born. She was baptized on the fifteenth of that month, and, by a prevalent fashion which has created so much perplexity in discussions on longevities, was named after an elder child of the same parents who was born in 1558 and had died some time previously to the arrival of her younger sister. Joan was then so common a name that it is hazardous to venture on a conjecture respecting the child's sponsor, but she was very likely so called after her ma-

ternal aunt, Mrs. Lambert of Barton-on-the-Heath. John Shakespeare's term of office as High Bailiff expired in the September of the same year, 1569, his successor being one Robert Salisbury, a substantial yeoman then residing in a large house on the eastern side of Church Street.

Although there is no certain information on the subject, it may perhaps be assumed that, at this time, boys usually entered the Free School at the age of seven, according to the custom followed at a later period. If so, the poet commenced his studies there in the spring of the year 1571, and unless its system of instruction differed essentially from that pursued in other establishments of a similar character, his earliest knowledge of Latin was derived from two well-known books of the time, the *Accidence* and the *Sententiæ Pueriles*. From the first of these works the improvised examination of Master Page in the *Merry Wives of Windsor* is so almost verbally remembered, that one might imagine that the William of the scene was a resuscitation of the poet at school. Recollections of the same book are to be traced in other of his plays. The *Sententiæ Pueriles* was, in all probability, the little manual by the aid of which he first learned to construe Latin, for in one place, at least, he all but literally translates a brief passage, and there are in his plays several adaptations of its sentiments. It was then sold for a penny, equivalent to about our present shilling, and contains a large collection of brief sentences collected from a variety of authors, with a distinct selection of moral and religious paragraphs, the latter intended for the use of boys on Saint's Days.

The best authorities unite in telling us that the poet imbibed a certain amount of Latin at school, but that his

acquaintance with that language was, throughout his life, of a very limited character. It is not probable that scholastic learning was ever congenial to his tastes, and it should be recollected that books in most parts of the country were then of very rare occurrence. Lilly's *Grammar* and a few classical works, chained to the desks of the Free School, were probably the only volumes of the kind to be found at Stratford-on-Avon. Exclusive of Bibles, Church Services, Psalters, and education manuals, there were certainly not more than two or three dozen books, if so many, in the whole town. The copy of the black-letter English history, so often depicted as well thumbed by Shakespeare in his father's parlor, never existed out of the imagination. Fortunately for us, the youthful dramatist had, excepting in the school-room, little opportunity of studying any but a grander volume, the infinite book of nature, the pages of which were ready to be unfolded to him in the lane and field, amongst the copses of Snitterfield, by the side of the river or that of his uncle's hedgerows.

Henry Shakespeare, the poet's uncle, resided on a large farm near Snitterfield church. The house has long disappeared, but two of the old enclosures that he rented, Burmans and Red Hill, are still to be observed on the right of the highway to Luscombe, with the ancient boundaries, and under the same names, by which they were distinguished in the days of Shakespeare's early youth. Nearly every one of the boy's connections, as well as his uncle Henry, was a farmer. There was the brother of Agnes Arden, Alexander Webbe of Snitterfield, who died in 1573, appointing "to be my overseers to see this my last will and testament performed, satisfied and ful-

filled, according to my will, John Shackespere of Stretford-upon-Aven, John Hill of Bearley, and for theyre paynes taken I geve them xij.*d.* a pece." Henry Shakespeare was present at the execution of this will, and there is other evidence that the poet's family were on friendly terms with the Hills of Bearley, who were connections by marriage with the Ardens. Then there were the Lamberts of Barton-on-the-Heath, the Stringers of Bearley, the Etkyns of Wilmecote, all of whom were engaged in agricultural business, and Agnes Arden, who was still alive and farming at Wilmecote.

On March 11, 1574, "Richard, sonne to Mr. John Shakspeer," was baptized at Stratford, the Christian name of the infant having probably been adopted in recollection of his grandfather of Snitterfield, who had been removed by the hand of death some years previously. Independently of this new baby, there were now four other children,—Anne, who was in her third, Joan in her fifth, Gilbert in his eighth, and the poet in his tenth year. The father's circumstances were not yet on the wane, so there is every reason for believing that the eldest son, blessed with, as it has been well termed, the precious gift of sisters to a loving boy, returned to a happy fire-side after he had been tormented by the disciplinarian routine that was destined to terminate in the acquisition of "small Latin and less Greek."

The defective classical education of the poet is not, however, to be attributed to the conductors of the local seminary, for enough of Latin was taught to enable the more advanced pupils to display familiar correspondence in that language. It was really owing to his being removed from school long before the usual age, his father

requiring his assistance in one of the branches of the Henley Street business. Rowe's words, published in 1709, are these,—"he had bred him, 'tis true, for some time at a free-school, where 'tis probable he acquir'd that little Latin he was master of; but the narrowness of his circumstances, and the want of his assistance at home, forc'd his father to withdraw him from thence, and unhappily prevented his further proficiency in that language." John Shakespeare's circumstances had begun to decline in the year 1577, and, in all probability, he removed the future dramatist from school when the latter was about thirteen, allowing Gilbert, then between ten and eleven, to continue his studies. The selection of the former for home-work may have partially arisen from his having been the elder and the stronger, but it also exhibits the father's presentiment of those talents for business which distinguished the latter part of his son's career.

The conflict of evidences now becomes so exceedingly perplexing, that it is hardly possible to completely reconcile them. All that can prudently be said is that the inclination of the testimonies leans towards the belief that John Shakespeare, following the ordinary usage of the tradesmen of the locality in binding their children to special occupations, eventually apprenticed his eldest son to a butcher. That appellation was sometimes given to persons who, without keeping meat-shops, killed cattle and pigs for others; and as there is no telling how many adjuncts the worthy glover had to his legitimate business, it is very possible that the lad may have served his articles under his own father. With respect to the unpoetical selection of a trade for the great dramatist, it is of course

necessary for the biographer to draw attention to the fact that he was no ordinary executioner, but, to use the words of Aubrey, "when he killed a calf, he would do it in a high style and make a speech." It may be doubted if even this palliative will suffice to reconcile the employment with our present ideal of the gentle Shakespeare, but he was not one of the few destined, at all events in early life, to be exempt from the laws which so frequently ordain mortals to be the reluctant victims of circumstances.

The tradition reported by the parish clerk in 1693 is the only known evidence of Shakespeare having been an apprentice, but his assertion that the poet commenced his practical life as a butcher is supported by the earlier testimony of Aubrey. If the clerk's story be rejected, we must then rely on the account furnished by Betterton, who informs us, through Rowe, that John Shakespeare "was a considerable dealer in wool," and that the great dramatist, after leaving school, was brought up to follow the same occupation, continuing in the business until his departure from Warwickshire. Whichever version be thought the more probable, the student will do well, before arriving at a decision, to bear in mind that many butchers of those days were partially farmers, and that those of Stratford-on-Avon largely represented the wealth and commercial intelligence of the town. Among the latter was Ralph Cawdrey, who had then twice served the office of High Bailiff, and had been for many years a colleague of the poet's father. Nor were the accessories of the trade viewed in the repulsive light that some of them are at the present time. The refined and lively Rosalind would have been somewhat astonished if she had been

told of the day when her allusion to the washing of a sheep's heart would have been pronounced indecorous and more than unladylike.

Although the information at present accessible does not enable us to determine the exact natures of Shakespeare's occupations from his fourteenth to his eighteenth year, that is to say, from 1577 to 1582, there can be no hesitation in concluding that, during that animated and receptive period of life, he was mercifully released from what, to a spirit like his, must have been the deleterious monotony of a school education. Whether he passed those years as a butcher or a wool-dealer does not greatly matter. In either capacity, or in any other that could then have been found at Stratford, he was unconsciously acquiring a more perfect knowledge of the world and human nature than could have been derived from a study of the classics. During nearly if not all the time to which reference is now being made, he had also the opportunity of witnessing theatrical performances by some of the leading companies of the day. But trouble and sorrow invaded the paternal home. In the autumn of 1578, his father affected the then large mortgage of 40*l.* on the estate of Asbies, and the records of subsequent transactions indicate that he was suffering from pecuniary embarrassments in the two years immediately following. In the midst of these struggles he lost, in 1579, his daughter Anne, who was then in her eighth year. It cannot be doubted that the poet acutely felt the death of his little sister, nor that he followed her to the grave at a funeral which was conducted by the parents with affectionate tributes. In the next year their last child was born. He was christened Edmund on May 3, 1580, no doubt re-

ceiving that name from the husband of his maternal aunt, Mrs. Lambert. It was this gentleman who held the mortgage on Asbies, but on John Shakespeare tendering payment to him in the following autumn, the money was refused until other sums due the same creditor were also repaid. This must have been a great disappointment to the worthy glover, who had only in the previous year disposed of his wife's reversionary interests at Snitterfield for the exact amount that he had borrowed from the Lamberts in 1578, a transfer that he had perhaps arranged with a view to the redemption of the matrimonial estate at Wilmecote. It must be borne in mind that it was at that time the practice in mortgages to name a special day for the repayment of a loan, the security falling into the indefeasible ownership of the mortgagee when the terms of the contract were not rigidly observed. There was not then the general equity of redemption which, at a later period, guarded the legitimate interests of the borrower.

The reversion that was parted with in the year 1579 consisted of a share in a considerable landed estate that had belonged to the poet's maternal grandfather, a share to which John and Mary Shakespeare would have become absolutely entitled upon the death of Agnes Arden, who was described as "aged and impotent" in the July of the following year, 1580, and who died a few months afterwards, her burial at Aston Cantlowe having taken place on December 29. In her will, that of a substantial lady farmer of the period, there is no direct mention of the Shakespeares, but it is not unlikely that one or more of their sons may be included in the bequest,—"to everi on of my god-children xij.*d.* a-peece,"—the absence of the testator's own christian name from their pedigree being

a sufficient evidence that her baptismal responsibilities were not extended to their daughters. Taking merely a life-interest in a portion of the family estates, and Mary having received more than an equitable interest in them, she might naturally have felt herself absolved from bestowing larger gifts upon her Henley Street connections.

It was the usual custom at Stratford-on-Avon for apprentices to be bound either for seven or ten years, so that, if Shakespeare were one of them, it was not likely that he was out of his articles at the time of his marriage, an event that took place in 1582, when he was only in his nineteenth year. At that period, before a license for wedlock could be obtained, it was necessary to lodge at the Consistory Court a bond entered into by two responsible sureties, who by that document certified, under a heavy penalty in case of misrepresentation, that there was no impediment of precontract or consanguinity, the former of course alluding to a precontract of either of the affianced parties with a third person.

The bond given in anticipation of the marriage of William Shakespeare with Anne Hathaway, a proof in itself that there was no clandestine intention in the arrangements, is dated November 28, 1582. Their first child, Susanna, was baptized on Sunday, May 26, 1583. With those numerous moralists who do not consider it necessary for rigid enquiry to precede condemnation, these facts taint the husband with dishonor, although, even according to modern notions, that very marriage may have been induced on his part by a sentiment in itself the very essence of honor. If we assume, however, as we reasonably may, that cohabitation had previously taken place, no question of morals would in those days have arisen, or

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could have been entertained. The precontract, which was usually celebrated two or three months before marriage, *was not only legally recognized, but it invalidated a subsequent union of either of the parties with any one else.* There was a statute, indeed, of 32 Henry VIII, 1540, c. 38, s. 2, by which certain marriages were legalized notwithstanding precontracts, but the clause was repealed by the Act of 2 & 3 Edward VI, 1548, c. 23, s. 2, and the whole statute by 1 & 2 Phil. and Mar., 1554, c. 8, s. 19, while the Act of I Elizabeth, 1558, c. 1, s. 11, expressly confirms the revocation made by Edward VI. The ascertained facts respecting Shakespeare's marriage clearly indicate the high probability of there having been a precontract, a ceremony which substantially had the validity of the more formal one, and the improbability of that marriage having been celebrated under mysterious or unusual circumstances. Whether the early alliance was a prudent one in a worldly point of view may admit of doubt, but that the married pair continued on affectionate terms, until they were separated by the poet's death, may be gathered from the early local tradition that his wife "did earnestly desire to be laid in the same grave with him." The legacy to her of the second-best bed is an evidence which does not in any way negative the later testimony.

The poet's two sureties, Fulk Sandells and John Richardson, were inhabitants of the little hamlet of Shottery, and on the only inscribed seal attached to the bond are the initials R. H., while the consent of friends is in that document limited to those of the bride. No conclusion can be safely drawn from the last-named clause, it being one very usual in such instruments, but it may perhaps be inferred from the other circumstances that the marriage

was arranged under the special auspices of the Hathaway family, and that the engagement was not received with favor in Henley Street. The case, however, admits of another explanation. It may be that the nuptials of Shakespeare, like those of so many others of that time, had been privately celebrated some months before under the illegal forms of the Catholic Church, and that the relatives were now anxious for the marriage to be openly acknowledged.

It was extremely common at that time, among the local tradespeople, for the sanction of parents to be given to early marriages in cases where there was no money, and but narrow means of support, on either side. It is not, therefore, likely that the consent of John and Mary Shakespeare to the poet's marriage was withheld on such grounds, nor, with the exception of the indications in the bond, are there other reasons for suspecting that they were averse to the union. But whether they were so or not is a question that does not invalidate the assumption that the lovers followed the all but universal rule of consolidating their engagement by means of a precontract. This ceremony was generally a solemn affair enacted with the immediate concurrence of all the parents, but it was at times informally conducted separately by the betrothing parties, evidence of the fact, communicated by them to independent persons, having been held, at least in Warwickshire, to confer a sufficient legal validity on the transaction. Thus, in 1585, William Holder and Alice Shaw, having privately made a contract, came voluntarily before two witnesses, one of whom was a person named Willis and the other a John Maides of Snitterfield, on purpose to acknowledge that they were irrevocably pledged to wedlock. The lady evidently considered herself already as

good as married, saying to Holder,—"I do confesse that I am your wief and have forsaken all my frendes for your sake, and I hope you will use me well;" and thereupon she "gave him her hand." Then, as Maides observes, "the said Holder, *mutatis mutandis*, used the like words unto her in effect, and toke her by the hand, and kissed together in the presence of this deponent and the said Willis." These proceedings are afterwards referred to in the same depositions as constituting a definite "contract of marriage." On another occasion, in 1588, there was a precontract meeting at Alcester, the young lady arriving there unaccompanied by any of her friends. When requested to explain the reason of this omission, "she answered that her leasure wold not lett her and that she thought she cold not obtaine her mother's goodwill, but, quoth she, nevertheless I am the same woman that I was before." The future bridegroom was perfectly satisfied with this assurance, merely asking her "whether she was content to betake herself unto him, and she answered, offring her hand, which he also tooke upon thoffer that she was content by her trothe, and thereto, said she, I geve thee my faith, and before these witnesses, that I am thy wief; and then he likewise answered in theis wordes, vidz., and I geve thee my faith and troth, and become thy husband." These instances, to which several others could be added, prove decisively that Shakespeare could have entered, under any circumstances whatever, into a precontract with Anne Hathaway. It may be worth adding that espousals of this kind were, in the Midland counties, almost invariably terminated by the lady's acceptance of a bent sixpence. One lover, who was betrothed in the same year in which Shakespeare was engaged to Anne Hath-

away, gave also a pair of gloves, two oranges, two handkerchiefs and a girdle of broad red silk. A present of gloves on such an occasion was, indeed, nearly as universal as that of a sixpence.

It can never be right for a biographer, when he is unsupported by the least particle of evidence, to assume that the subject of his memoir departed unnecessarily from the ordinary usages of life and society. In Shakespeare's matrimonial case, those who imagine that there was no precontract have to make another extravagant admission. They must ask us also to believe that the lady of his choice was as disreputable as the flax-wench, and gratuitously united with the poet in a moral wrong that could have been converted, by the smallest expenditure of trouble, into a moral right. The whole theory is absolutely incredible. We may then feel certain that, in the summer of the year 1582, William Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway were betrothed either formally or informally, but, at all events, under conditions that could, if necessary, have been legally ratified.

There are reasons for believing that later in the century cohabitation between the precontract and the marriage began to be generally regarded with much disfavor, but the only means of arriving at an equitable judgment upon the merits of the present case lay in a determination to investigate it strictly in its relation with practices the legitimacy of which was acknowledged in Warwickshire in the days of the poet's youth. If the antecedents of Shakespeare's union with Miss Hathaway were regarded with equanimity by their own neighbors, relatives, and friends, upon what grounds can a modern critic fairly impugn the propriety of their conduct? And that they

were so regarded is all but indisputable. Assuming, as we have a right to assume, that the poet's mother must have been a woman of sensitive purity, was she now entertaining the remotest apprehension that her son's honor was imperiled? Assuredly not, for she had passed her youth amid a society who believed that a precontract had all the validity of a marriage, the former being really considered a more significant and important ceremony than the other. When her own father, Robert Arden, settled part of an estate upon his daughter Agnes, on July 17, 1550, he introduces her as *nunc uxor Thome Stringer, ac nuper uxor Johannis Hewyns,* and yet the marriage was not solemnized until three months afterwards. "1550, 15 October, was maryed Thomas Stringer unto Agnes Hwens, wyddow," (Bearley register). Let us hope that, after the production of this decisive testimony, nothing more will be heard of the insinuations that have hitherto thrown an unpleasant shadow over one of the most interesting periods of our author's career.

The marriage, in accordance with the general practice, no doubt took place within two or three days after the execution of the bond on November 28, 1582, the "once asking of the bans" being included in the ceremonial service. The name of the parish in which the nuptials were celebrated has not been ascertained, but it must have been one of those places in the diocese of Worcester the early registers of which have been lost.

Early marriages are not, however, at least with men, invariably preceded by a dispersion of the wild oats; and it appears that Shakespeare had neglected to complete that usually desirable operation, but now a fortunate omission that necessitated his removal to the only locality in

which it was probable that his dramatic genius could have arrived at complete maturity. Three or four years after his union with Anne Hathaway, he had, observes Rowe, "by a misfortune common enough to young fellows, fallen into ill company, and, among them, some, that made a frequent practice of deer-stealing, engaged him with them more than once in robbing a park that belonged to Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote, near Stratford;—for this he was prosecuted by that gentleman, as he thought, somewhat too severely, and, in order to revenge that ill-usage, he made a ballad upon him; and though this, probably the first essay of his poetry, be lost yet it is said to have been so very bitter that it redoubled the prosecution against him to that degree, that he was obliged to leave his business and family in Warwickshire for some time, and shelter himself in London." If we accept this narrative, which is the most reliable account of the incident that has been preserved, the date of the poet's departure from his native town may be reasonably assigned to the year 1585. He certainly could not have left the neighborhood before the summer of 1584, the baptisms of his youngest children, the twin Hamnet and Judith, having been registered at Stratford-on-Avon on February 2 in the following year; neither could his retreat have been enforced during his oppressor's attendance at the Parliament which sat from November 23,1584, to March 29, 1585. It is worthy of remark that Sir Thomas had the charge, early in the last-named month, of a bill "for the preservation of grain and game," so it is clear that the knight of Charlecote was a zealous game-preserver, even if the introduction of the proposed measure were not the

result of the depredations committed by the poet and his companions.

Another version of the narrative has been recorded by Archdeacon Davies, who was the vicar of Sapperton, a village in the neighboring county of Gloucester, and who died there in the year 1708. According to this authority the future great dramatist was "much given to all unluckiness in stealing venison and rabbits, particularly from Sir Thomas Lucy, who had him oft whipped and sometimes imprisoned, and at last made him fly his native county to his great advancement; but his revenge was so great that he is his Justice Clodpate, and calls him a great man, and that in allusion to his name bore three louses rampant for his arms." It is evident, therefore, from the independent testimonies of Rowe and Davies, that the deer-stealing history was accepted in the poet's native town and in the neighborhood during the latter part of the seventeenth century. That it has a solid basis of fact cannot admit of a reasonable doubt. It was current at a period in the history of Shakespearean appreciation before tales of the kind became liable to intentional falsification, and the impressive story of the penniless fugitive, who afterwards became a leading inhabitant of Stratford and the owner of New Place, was one likely to be handed down with passable fidelity to the grandchildren of his contemporaries. It is, moreover, one which exactly harmonizes with circumstances that materially add to its probability,—with the satirical allusions to the Lucys in their immediate relation to a poaching adventure, and with the certainty that there must have been some very grave reason to induce him to leave his wife and children to seek

his unaided fortunes in a distant part of the country, rendering himself at the same time liable to imprisonment (5 Eliz. c. 4. s. 47) for violating the conditions of his apprenticeship. If there had been no such grave reason, how should there have been the provincial belief in 1693 that he had ran "from his master to London, and there received into the play-house as a servitor?" What but a strong and compulsory motive could have driven him so far away from a locality to which, as we gather from subsequent events, he was sensitively attached? The only theory, indeed, that would sanction the unconditional rejection of the traditions is that which assumes that they were designed in explanation of the allusions in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, but surely, if that had been the case, there would have been a more explicit reference to the accusations of Master Shallow, charges that are in the aggregate of a more formidable description than those which have been transmitted by hearsay. "You have hurt my keeper, kill'd my dogs, stol'n my deer" (ed. 1602). "You have beaten my men, kill'd my deer, and broke open my lodge" (ed. 1623). It is also exceedingly improbable that there should have been any one at Stratford-on-Avon at the time of Betterton's visit who would have cared to elucidate the justice's implications, and it would appear, from the incorrect quotations which are given by Davies, that even the archdeacon was somewhat better acquainted with the history of Sir Thomas Lucy than he was with the comedy.

Neither the best citizens nor the most amiable men are always those whose cautious and dispassionate temperaments have enabled them to pass through the heats of youth without getting into scrapes. Those only, indeed,

who consider it their duty to invest the greatest of dramatists with the honors of canonization will be distressed to hear that the poet, in the years of his apprenticeship to a cheerless business, got into trouble by netting rabbits and occasionally joining in the class of adventures that were then known under the title of "unlawful huntings." The general tradition among the rustics of the neighborhood was, and perhaps still is, that he was wild in his younger days, an impression delivered, as I have heard it in years gone by, in no tone or spirit of detraction; and he was wild in the least reprehensible of all irregular directions, not in the slums of Warwick, nor with roisterers in the taverns of Stratford, but in sports of the wood and the field that may have been illegally pursued, but were nevertheless regarded by the multitude as indications of manly spirit and gallantry. Sir Philip Sydney's *May-Lady* terms deer-stealing a "prettie service," and this was the light in which it was usually viewed so long as the keepers were outwitted. These were days when youthful raids for fruit or animals were not only excusable in the eyes of society, but apt to be considered desirable features of education, and we accordingly find a writer of the next century, Francis Osborn, born about the year 1589, bitterly lamenting that, owing to the mild character of his home-training, he had lost the advantages which others had derived from a participation in such-like kind of exploits; for, to quote his own words, "not undergoing the same discipline, I must needs come short of their experience that are bred up in free-schools, who, by plotting to rob an orchard, &c., run through all the subtleties required in taking of a town; being made by use familiar to secrecy and compliance with opportunity, qualities never

after to be attained at cheaper rates than the hazard of all; whereas these see the danger of trusting others and the rocks they fall upon by a too obstinate adhering to their own imprudent resolutions, and all this under no higher penalty than a whipping." Then there was the curious fact that the students of Oxford, the center of the kingdom's learning and intelligence, had been for many generations the most notorious poachers in all England. An Act of the fifteenth century, under which disorderly hunters were to be banished from the university, does not appear to have been very effective, for their serious depredations in the reign of Henry VIII, positively led, as recorded by Leland, to the disparking of Radley, near Abingdon, a park that was about four miles distant from the scholastic city. The same lawless spirit prevailed among the younger collegians for many years. Dr. Forman relates how two students in 1573,—one of them John Thornborough, then aged twenty-one, afterwards Dean of York and Bishop of Worcester,—"never studied nor gave themselves to their books, but to go to schools of defence, to the dancing-schools, *to steal deer and conies*, and to hunt the hare, and to wooing of wenches." This was pretty well, and yet we are told, on the excellent authority of Anthony Wood, that Thornborough "was a person well-furnish'd with learning, wisdom, courage, and other as well episcopal as temporal accomplishments beseeming a gentleman, a dean, and a bishop"; so it is clear that his attachment to the recreation of game-stealing at Shakespeare's poaching-age was not in any way detrimental to his subsequent reputation. He would, indeed, have suffered far more in the estimation of his contemporaries if he had been the Oxford freshman who, as recorded in the old jest-books, joining his fellow-

students in one of their favorite clandestine expeditions upon the understanding that he was to maintain a rigid silence, vexatiously frightened away a choice herd of rabbits by exclaiming, "*Ecce cuniculi multi*"; thus excusing himself when reproved for his folly,—who in the world, said he, would have thought that conies could have understood Latin?

But although it will be gathered from these evidences that amateur poaching was not always visited in those days with a distinct loss of character, it must not be inferred that its votaries, when detected, did not sometimes get into trouble and a certain amount of attendant disgrace. Much would depend upon the extent and nature of the depredations, and no little of course on the special tastes and pursuits of the owners. The landed gentry had suffered so much inconvenience from the practice that many of them had long been anxious for the establishment of stricter game-laws. Strenuous efforts had been made to render even rabbit-taking a felony, and it is not probable that Sir Thomas Lucy, an enthusiastic sportsman and an advocate for game-preservation, could have regarded the doings of Shakespeare and his companions with equanimity. It was natural that he should do his best to protect his covers from spoliation, and it is easy to believe that there may have been a display of arbitrary and undue severity in the process. There could have been no one among the poachers who would have been likely to have offered a successful resistance, or who would have dared to have appealed to a superior court in respect to a matter in which all of them were incipiently in the wrong; and it must be borne in mind that the future poet was then no more either to Sir Thomas or to the world than Peter

Turf or Henry Pimpernell. They might have been indicted under an Act of the thirteenth of Richard II, c. 13, which provided that "no manner of layman which hath not lands or tenements to the value of forty shillings by year shall have or keep any greyhound, hound, nor other dog to hunt; nor shall they use ferrets, hays, nets, hare-pipes, nor cords nor other engines for to take or destroy deer, hares, nor conies, nor other gentlemen's game, upon pain of one year's imprisonment;" but the county records of the time not being extant, it is now impossible to ascertain the course of any proceedings that may have been taken in the matter. And even if the Session Rolls had been preserved, it is not likely that all the particulars of the case would have been revealed, for in all probability Sir Thomas Lucy frequently took it upon himself to exercise a summary jurisdiction in regard to minor offenses. Such a method of settlement may have been on occasion convenient to both parties if, for example, he had sent delinquents to jail on his own responsibility for two or three months when a legal conviction would have secured their imprisonment for twelve. It must be remembered that the rural magistrates of those days assumed very large discretionary powers, their "luxuriant authority," as it was termed by an Elizabethan legislator, having been a frequent subject of complaint. That the magistrates in the vicinity of Stratford-on-Avon were accustomed to exercise a despotic sway over the poorer inhabitants may be gathered from the fact that at a somewhat later period William Combe, the squire of Welcombe, sent a person of the name of Hiccox to Warwick jail, and refused bail, merely because he "did not behave himself with such respect in his presence it seemeth he looked for." What would he not have done

if he had first caught his disrespectful visitor marching off with his rabbits and deer, and then, with unprecedented temerity, electrifying the neighborhood by the circulation of a poetical lampoon reflecting upon the intelligence and judgment of His Worship? Now Shakespeare, in his poaching days, the penniless son of an impecunious father, and without friends of appreciable influence, would assuredly have fared no better on such occasions than poor Hiccox, unless he had been, as he obviously was not, high in the favor of Davy, the servingman; and the most rational mode of accounting for and excusing his long-sustained resentment is to recognize a substantial groundwork of facts in the early traditions. They are in unison with possibilities that furnish an intelligible explanation of the known circumstances, and all becomes clear if it be assumed that a persistive, harsh, and injudicial treatment elicited the obnoxious ballad. Its author could have been severely punished under the common law for its exhibition, and there can be little doubt that it was a contemplated movement in reference to the libel, in addition, perhaps, to some other indictment, that occasioned his flight to the metropolis.

The Sir Thomas Lucy who received the honor of knighthood in 1565, and had thus accidentally diverted the course of what might otherwise have been an unnoted life, was the head of one of the most opulent and influential families in the county of Warwick. Owning estates in various parts of the country, including, within a few miles of Stratford-on-Avon, the manors of Sherbourn, Hampton Lucy and Charlecote, they had been settled at the last-named demain for many generations. Sir Thomas was born in 1532, and was therefore about fifty-three years

of age at the time of the poet's sprightly adventures. He married in early life Joyce Acton, a rich heiress, through whom he became possessed of Sutton Park, near Tenbury, then and for long afterwards one of the most important deer-enclosures in Worcestershire, where he was high sheriff in 1586. He was elected to the Parliaments of 1571 and 1584, but his absenteeisms from Warwickshire were exceptional, and there he held a social position little inferior to that of the higher nobility. His only son was knighted in 1593, and thus it curiously happened that, from that year until his death in 1600, there were two Sir Thomas Lucys of Charlecote, the one known as the younger and the other as the elder. The ancestral manor house, which the latter rebuilt in the first of Elizabeth, 1558 and 1559, was arranged, out of compliment to that sovereign, in the form of the capital letter E, and it remains to this day the "goodly dwelling and a rich," a visible monument of his wealth and residential dignity. It is situated on the eastern bank of the Avon, upon ground of a slightly undulating character, about four miles from Stratford through the bye-paths that the trespassers would most likely have followed. Although the whole edifice has been seriously modernized, the back especially having been nearly transformed, the front-exterior still retains the general characteristics of the original structure; but by far the most genuine and interesting object is the ancient gate-house, which stands in advance at a little distance from the mansion, and which, with its turrets and elegant oriel window, is essentially in the state in which it would have been recognized by the now celebrated poachers of 1585.

At the period of Shakespeare's arrival in London, any reputable kind of employment was obtained with consider-

able difficulty. There is an evidence of this in the history of the early life of John Sadler, a native of Stratford-on-Avon and one of the poet's contemporaries, who tried his fortunes in the metropolis under similar though less discouraging circumstances. This youth, upon quitting Stratford, "join'd himself to the carrier, and came to London, where he had never been before, and sold his horse in Smithfield; and, having no acquaintance in London to recommend him or assist him, he went from street to street, and house to house, asking if they wanted an apprentice, and though he met with many discouraging scorns and a thousand denials, he went on till he light on Mr. Brokesbank, a grocer in Bucklersbury, who, though he long denied him for want of sureties for his fidelity, and because the money he had (but ten pounds) was so disproportionate to what he used to receive with apprentices, yet, upon his discreet account he gave of himself and the motives which put him upon that course, and promise to compensate with diligent and faithfull service whatever else was short of his expectation, he ventured to receive him upon trial, in which he so well approved himself that he accepted him into his service, to which he bound him for eight years." It is to be gathered, from the account given by Rowe, that Shakespeare, a fugitive, leaving his native town unexpectedly, must have reached London more unfavorably circumstanced than Sadler, although the latter experienced so much trouble in finding occupation. At all events, there would have been greater difficulty in the poet's case in accounting satisfactorily to employers for his sudden departure from home. That he was also nearly, if not quite, moneyless, is to be inferred from tradition, the latter supported by the ascertained

fact of the adverse circumstances of his father at the time rendering it impossible for him to have received effectual assistance from his parents; nor is there reason for believing that he was likely to have obtained substantial aid from the relatives of his wife. Johnson no doubt accurately reported the tradition of his day, when, in 1765, he stated that Shakespeare "came to London a needy adventurer, and lived for a time by very mean employments." To the same effect is the earlier testimony given by the author of *Ratseis Ghost*, 1605, where the strolling player, in a passage reasonably believed to refer to the great dramatist, observes in reference to actors, "I have heard, indeede, of some that have gone to London *very meanly* and have come in time to be exceedingly wealthy." The author of the last-named tract was evidently well acquainted with the theatrical gossip of his day, so that his nearly contemporary evidence on the subject may be fairly accepted as a truthful record of the current belief.

It has been repeatedly observed that the visits of theatrical companies to the poet's native town suffice to explain the history of his connection with the stage, but it is difficult to understand how this could have been the case. There is no good evidence that a single one of the actors belonged to his neighborhood, and even if he had casually made the acquaintance of some of the itinerants, it is extremely unlikely that any extent of such intimacy would have secured the admission of an inexperienced person into their ranks. The histrionic art is not learned in a day, and it was altogether unusual with the sharers to receive into the company men who had not had the advantage of a very early training in the profession. It might, therefore, have been reasonably inferred, even in the ab-

sence of tradition, that at this time Shakespeare could only have obtained employment at the theater in a very subordinate capacity, nor can it be safely assumed that there would have been an opening for him of any kind. The quotations above given seem to indicate that his earlier occupation was something of a still lower character. A traditional anecdote was current about the middle of the last century, according to which it would appear that the great dramatist, if connected in any sort of manner with the theater immediately upon his arrival in London, could only have been engaged in a servile capacity, and that there was, in the career of the great poet, an interval which some may consider one of degradation, to be regarded with either incredulity or sorrow. Others may, with more discernment and without reluctance, receive the story as a testimony to his practical wisdom in accepting any kind of honest occupation in preference to starvation or mendicancy, and cheerfully making the best of the circumstances by which he was surrounded. The tale is related by several writers, but perhaps the best version is the one recorded by Dr. Johnson, in 1765, in the following terms,—"in the time of Elizabeth, coaches being yet uncommon and hired coaches not at all in use, those who were too proud, too tender or too idle to walk, went on horseback to any distant business or diversion;—many came on horseback to the play, and when Shakespeare fled to London from the terror of a criminal prosecution, his first expedient was to wait at the door of the play-house, and hold the horses of those that had no servants that they might be ready again after the performance;—in this office he became so conspicuous for his care and readiness, that in a short time every man as he alighted called for Will

Shakespeare, and scarcely any other waiter was trusted with a horse while Will Shakespeare could be had;—this was the first dawn of better fortune;—Shakespeare, finding more horses put into his hand than he could hold, hired boys to wait under his inspection, who, when Will Shakespeare was summoned, were immediately to present themselves, 'I am Shakespeare's boy, sir;'—in time Shakespeare found higher employment, but as long as the practice of riding to the play-house continued the waiters that held the horses retained the appellation of Shakespeare's Boys." Dr. Johnson received this anecdote from Pope, to whom it had been communicated by Rowe; and it appears to have reached the last-named writer through Betterton and Davenant.

It has been and is the fashion with most biographers to discredit the horse tradition entirely, but that it was originally related by Sir William Davenant, and belongs in some form to the earlier half of the seventeenth century, cannot reasonably be doubted. The circumstance of the anecdote being founded upon the practice of gentlemen riding to the theaters, a custom obsolete after the Restoration, is sufficient to establish the antiquity of the story. In a little volume of epigrams by Sir John Davis, printed at Middleborough in or about the year 1599, a man of inferior position is ridiculed for being constantly on horseback, imitating in that respect persons of higher rank, riding even "*into the fieldes playes to behold.*" Most of these horsemen were probably accustomed to a somewhat lavish expenditure, and it may very well be assumed that Shakespeare not unfrequently received more than the ordinary fee of a tester for his services. There is, at all events, no valid reason for enrolling the tradition

among the absolute fictions that have been circulated respecting the poet. Several writers have taken that course mainly on the ground that, although it was known to Rowe, he does not allude to it in his *Life of Shakespeare*, 1709; but there is no improbability in the supposition that the story was not related to him until after the publication of that work, the second edition of which in 1714 is a mere reprint of the first. Other reasons for the omission may be suggested, but even if it be conceded that the anecdote was rejected as suspicious and improbable, that circumstance alone cannot be decisive against the opinion that there may be glimmerings of truth in it. This is, indeed, all that is contended for. Few would be disposed to accept the story literally as related by Johnson, but when it is considered that the tradition must be a very early one, that its genealogy is respectable, and that it harmonizes with the general old belief of the great poet having, when first in London, subsisted by "very mean employments," little doubt can fairly be entertained that it has at least in some way or other a foundation in real occurrences. It should also be remembered that horse-stealing was one of the very commonest offenses of the period, and one which was probably stimulated by the facility with which delinquents of that class obtained pardons. The safe custody of a horse was a matter of serious import, and a person who had satisfactorily fulfilled such a trust would not be lightly estimated.

It is important to observe that all the early traditions, to which any value can be attached, concur in the belief that Shakespeare did not leave his native town with histrionic intention. Even in the absence of those evidences, although it might not necessarily, still it might, and most

likely would, be a fallacy to assume that his dramatic tastes impelled him to undertake an arduous and premeditated journey to encounter the risk of an engagement at a metropolitan theater, however powerfully they may have influenced his choice of a profession after he had once arrived in London. For, residing throughout his youth in what may fairly be considered a theatrical neighborhood, with continual facilities for the cultivation of those tastes, if he had yielded in his boyish days to an impulsive fascination for the stage, it is most likely that he would in some way have joined the profession while its doors were readily accessible through one of the numerous itinerant companies, and before, not after, such inclinations must have been in some measure restrained by the local domestic ties that resulted from his marriage. If he had quitted Stratford-on-Avon in his early youth, there would be no difficulty in understanding that he became one of the elder player's boys or apprentices, but it is extremely unlikely that, at the age of twenty-one, he would have voluntarily left a wife and three children in Warwickshire for the sake of obtaining a miserable position on the London boards.

It is not, therefore, requisite to assume that Shakespeare rushed in the first instance to the theater or its neighborhood in search of employment, and a plausible explanation can be given of the circumstances which led him to the occupation mentioned in the Davenant anecdote. It appears that James Burbage, the owner of the theater, rented premises close by Smithfield in which he "usually kept horses at liverye for sundry persons"; his assistant, or rather manager, of the stable being "a northerne man usually called by the name of Robyn," possibly the same indi-

vidual whose life was afterwards sacrificed by the unfortunate rise in the price of oats. If the course adopted by Sadler on his arrival in London was, as is most likely, the one also taken by the poet, the latter would at once have proceeded to Smithfield to obtain the best price for the horse which carried him to the metropolis, the further retention of the animal being no doubt beyond his means. He might readily upon this occasion have become acquainted with James Burbage at a time when he was desirous of obtaining any kind of situation that presented itself, the tradition leading to the inference that he was engaged by the latter to act in some equestrian capacity. If so, one of his duties would have been the care, during the performances, of the horses of those of Burbage's Smithfield customers who visited the theater. This enterprising manager was also the landlord of a tavern in Shoreditch, where it is possible that his own horses may have been kept. He must, at all events, have been just the kind of person to be ready to take an active and intelligent rustic into his service, without being too inquisitive respecting the history of the young man's antecedents.

The transition from the stable and the fields to the interior of the theater may not have been long deferred, but all the evidences unite in affirming that Shakespeare entered the latter in a very humble capacity. The best authority on this point is one William Castle, who was the parish-clerk of Stratford-on-Avon during nearly all the latter part of the seventeenth century, and used to tell visitors that the poet "was received into the playhouse as a serviture," in other words, an attendant on the performers. A later account is somewhat more explicit. We are informed by Malone, writing in 1780, that there was "a stage

tradition that his first office in the theater was that of prompter's attendant, whose employment it is to give the performers notice to be ready to enter as often as the business of the play requires their appearance on the stage"; nor can the future eminence of Shakespeare be considered to be opposed to the reception of the tradition. "I have known men within my remembrance," observes Downes, in 1710, "arrive to the highest dignities of the theater, who made their entrance in the quality of mutes, joint-stools, flower-pots, and tapestry hangings." The office of prompter's attendant was at least as respectable as any of the occupations which are here enumerated.

No one has recorded the name of the first theater with which Shakespeare was connected, but if, as is almost certain, he came to London in or soon after the year 1585, there were at the time of his arrival only two in the metropolis, both of them on the north of the Thames. The earliest legitimate theater on the south was the Rose, the erection of which was contemplated in the year 1587, but it would seem from Henslowe's *Diary* that the building was not opened till early in 1592. The circus at Paris Garden, though perhaps occasionally used for dramatic performances, was not a regular theater. Admitting, however, the possibility that companies of players could have hired the latter establishment, there is good reason for concluding that Southwark was not the locality alluded to in the Davenant tradition. The usual mode of transit, for those Londoners who desired to attend theatrical performances in Southwark, was certainly by water. The boatmen of the Thames were perpetually asserting at a somewhat later period that their living depended on the continuance of the Southwark, and the suppression of the

London, theaters. Some few of the courtly members of the audience, perhaps for the mere sake of appearances, might occasionally have arrived at their destination on horseback, having taken what would be to most of them the circuitous route over London Bridge; but the large majority would select the more convenient passage by boat. The Southwark audiences mainly consisted of Londoners, for in the then sparsely inhabited condition of Kent and Surrey very few could have arrived from those counties. The number of riders to the Bankside theaters must, therefore, always have been very limited, too much so for the remunerative employment of horse-holders, whose services would be required merely in regard to the still fewer persons who were unattended by their lackeys. The only theaters upon the other side of the Thames, when the poet arrived in London, were the Theater and the Curtain, for, notwithstanding some apparent testimonies to the contrary, the Blackfriars Theater, as will be afterwards seen, was not then in existence. It was to the Theater or to the Curtain that the satirist alluded when he speaks of the fashionable youth riding "into the fieldes playes to behold." Both these theaters were situated in the parish of Shoreditch, in the fields of the Liberty of Halliwell, in which locality, if the Davenant tradition is in the slightest degree to be trusted, Shakespeare must have commenced his metropolitan life. This new career, however, was initiated not absolutely in London, but in a thinly populated outskirt about half a mile from the city walls, a locality possessing outwardly the appearance of a country village, but inwardly sustaining much of the bustle and all the vices of the town. These latter inconveniences could easily be avoided, for there were in the neighboring meadows ample

opportunities for quiet meditation or scientific enquiry. Here it was that Gerard, the celebrated botanist, stumbled a few years afterwards upon a new kind of crow-foot which he describes as being similar to the ordinary plant, "saving that his leaves are fatter, thicker, and greener, and his small twiggie stalkes stand upright, otherwise it is like; of which kinde it chanced that, walking in the fielde next unto the Theater by London, in company of a worshipfull marchant named master Nicholas Lete, I founde one of this kinde there with double flowers, which before that time I had not seene,"(The Herball, 1597, p. 804). Thus Shakespeare's observation of the wild flowers was not necessarily limited, as has been supposed, to his provincial experiences, two of the principal theaters with which he was connected having been situated in a rural suburb, and green fields being throughout his life within an easy walk from any part of London.

Nothing has been discovered respecting the history of Shakespeare's early theatrical life, but there is an interesting evidence that no estrangement between his parents and himself had followed the circumstances that led him to the metropolis, a fact which is established by his concurrence with them in an endeavor that they were making in 1587 to obtain favorable terms for a proposed relinquishment of Asbies. Nine years previously they had borrowed the sum of £40, on the security of that estate, from their connection, Edmund Lambert of Barton-on-the-Heath. The loan remaining unpaid, and the mortgagee dying in April, 1587, his son and heir, John, threatened shortly after that event with the institution of a law-suit for the recovery of the property, was naturally desirous of having the matter settled, and it was arranged in the fol-

lowing September that Lambert should, on canceling the mortgage and paying also the sum of £20, receive from the Shakespeares an absolute title to the estate, or, to speak more accurately, the best title which it was in their power to grant. Having obtained the assent of William, who was his mother's heir-apparent, they were enabled to offer all but a perfect security; but it appears, from the records of a subsequent litigation, that the intended compromise was abandoned.

It clearly appears, from the account given by Rowe, that Shakespeare returned to his native town after the dangers from the Lucy prosecution had subsided. The same writer informs us that the visit occurred subsequently to his junction with one of the theatrical companies. The exact dates of these events are unknown, but it is not likely that he would have ventured into Sir Thomas's neighborhood for a considerable time after his escapade. Country justices wielded in those days tremendous power in adjudication on minor offenses. There were no newspapers to carry the intelligence of provincial tyranny to the ears of a sensitive public opinion, and there is no doubt that a youth in Shakespeare's position, who had dared to lampoon the most influential magistrate of the locality, would have been for some time in a critical position. However greatly he may have desired to rejoin his family, it is, therefore, not probable that the poet would be found again at Stratford-on-Avon before the year 1587, and then we have, in the Lambert episode, a substantial reason for believing that he had at that time a conference with his parents on the subject of the Asbies mortgage. The sum of £20, equivalent to at least £240 now-a-days, to be paid in cash by Lambert, would have

been an element of serious importance to them all in their then financial circumstances. It must have been a subject for anxious deliberation, one that could hardly have been arranged without a personal interview, and, in the presence of Rowe's testimony, it may fairly be assumed that the meeting took place at Stratford, not in London.

In the same year, 1587, an unusual number of companies of actors visited Stratford-on-Avon, including the Queen's Players and those of Lords Essex, Leicester, and Stafford. This circumstance has given rise to a variety of speculations respecting the company to which the poet may then have belonged; but the fact is that we are destitute of any information, and have no relative means of forming an opinion on the subject. Even if it be conceded that Burbage's theater was the first with which Shakespeare was connected, no progress is made in the enquiry. That personage, who had retired from the stage, was in the habit of letting the building to any public entertainers who would remunerate him either in cash or by a share of profits. There was no establishment at that time devoted for a long continuous period to the use of a single company.

It is, however, all but certain that the favorite theory of Shakespeare having been one of the Queen's servants at this period is incorrect, for his name is not found in the official list belonging to the following year; so that, if he was connected in any way with them, he could at the latter date have been merely one of the underlings who were not in a position of sufficient importance to be included in the register. With the single exception of the absence of his name from that list, no evidence whatever has been discovered to warrant a conjecture on the subject. But although there is no reason for believing that

he was ever one of the royal actors, we may be sure that he must have witnessed, either at Stratford or London, some of the inimitable performances of the company's star, the celebrated Richard Tarlton. This individual, the "pleasant Willy" of Spenser, who died in September, 1588, was the most popular comedian of the day, one of those instinctive humorists who have merely to show their faces to be greeted with roars of merriment. It may have been, when the part of Derick, the clown, was in his hands, that Shakespeare became acquainted with the *Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth*, a lively play, some of the incidents of which he unquestionably recollected when composing his histories of that sovereign and his predecessor. There was another drama that was played in London about the same time, one in which Tarlton's personation of a dissolute youth was singularly popular and long remembered. In this latter was a death-bed scene, a notice of which may be worth giving as an example of the dramatic incidents that were relished in the poet's early days;—A wealthy father, in the last extremity of illness, communicates his testamentary intentions to his three sons. His landed estates are alloted to the eldest, who, overcome with emotion, expresses a fervent wish that the invalid may yet survive to enjoy them himself. To the next, who is a scholar, are left a handsome annuity and a very large sum of money for the purchase of books. Affected equally with his brother, he declares that he has no wish for such gifts, and only hopes that the testator may live to enjoy them himself. The third son, represented by Tarlton, was now summoned to the bed-side, and a grotesque figure he must have appeared in a costume which is described by an eye-witness as including a torn and dirty shirt, a one-

sleeved coat, stockings out at heels, and a head-dress of feathers and straw. "As for you, sirrah," quoths the indignant parent, "you know how often I have fetched you out of Newgate and Bridewell;—you have been an ungracious villain;—I have nothing to bequeath to you but the gallows and a rope." Following the example of the others, Tarlton bursts into a flood of tears, and then, falling on his knees, sobbingly exclaims,—"O, father, I do not desire them;—I trust to Heaven you shall live to enjoy them yourself."

It may be gathered, from the poet's subsequent history, that his return to Stratford-on-Avon was merely of a temporary character. The actors of those days were, as a rule, individual wanderers, spending a large portion of their time at a distance from their families; and there is every reason for believing that this was the case with Shakespeare from the period of his arrival in London until nearly the end of his life. All the old theatrical companies were more or less of an itinerant character, and it is all but impossible that he should not have already commenced his provincial tours. But what were their directions, or who were his associates, have not been discovered. There is not, indeed, a single particle of evidence respecting his career during the next five years, that is to say, from the time of the Lambert negotiation, in 1587, until he is discovered as a rising actor and dramatist in 1592.

This interval must have been the chief period of Shakespeare's literary education. Removed prematurely from school; residing with illiterate relatives in a bookless neighborhood; thrown into the midst of occupations adverse to scholastic progress—it is difficult to believe that, when he

first left Stratford, he was not all but destitute of polished accomplishments. He could not, at all events, under the circumstances in which he had then so long been placed, have had the opportunity of acquiring a refined style of composition. After he had once, however, gained a footing in London, he would have been placed under different conditions. Books of many kinds would have been accessible to him, and he would have been almost daily within hearing of the best dramatic poetry of the age. There would also no doubt have been occasional facilities for picking up a little smattering of the continental languages, and it is almost beyond a doubt that he added somewhat to his classical knowledge during his residence in the metropolis. It is, for instance, hardly possible that the *Amores* of Ovid, whence he derived his earliest motto, could have been one of his school-books.

Although Shakespeare had exhibited a taste for poetic composition before his first departure from Stratford-on-Avon, all traditions agree in the statement that he was a recognized actor before he joined the ranks of the dramatists. This latter event appears to have occurred on March 3, 1592, when a new drama, entitled *Henry*, or *Harry, the Sixth*, was brought out by Lord Strange's Servants, then acting either at Newington or Southwark under an arrangement with Henslowe, a wealthy stage manager, to whom no doubt the author had sold the play. In this year, as we learn on unquestionable authority, Shakespeare was first rising into prominent notice, so that the history then produced, now known as the *First Part of Henry the Sixth*, was, in all probability, his earliest complete dramatic work. Its extraordinary success must have secured for the author a substantial position in the theatrical world

of the day. The play had, for those times, an unusually long run, so that Nash, writing in or before the following month of July, states that the performances of it had, in that short interval, been witnessed by "ten thousand spectators at least," and, although this estimate may be overstrained, there can be no hesitation in receiving it as a valid testimony to the singular popularity of the new drama. The *Second Part of Henry the Sixth* must have appeared soon afterward, but no record of its production on the stage has been preserved. The former drama was published for the first time in the collective edition of 1623. A garbled and spurious version of the second play, the unskillful work of some one who had not access to a perfect copy of the original, appeared in the year 1594 under the title of the *First Part of the Contention betwixt the Houses of York and Lancaster.* It was published by Millington, the same bookseller who afterwards issued the surreptitious edition of *Henry the Fifth.*

Robert Greene, a popular writer and dramatist, who had commenced his literary career nine years previously, died on September 3, 1592. In a work entitled the *Groatsworth of Wit,* written shortly before his death, he had travestied, in an interesting sarcastic episode respecting some of his contemporaries, a line from one of Shakespeare's then recent compositions,—*O, tiger's heart, wrapp'd in a woman's hide!* This line is of extreme interest as including the earliest record of words composed by the great dramatist. It forms part of a vigorous speech which is as Shakespearean in its natural characterial fidelity, as it is Marlowean in its diction. That speech of the unfortunate Duke of York's is one of the most striking in the play, and the above line was probably selected for quo-

tation by Greene on account of its popularity through effective delivery. The quotation shows that the *Third Part of Henry the Sixth* was written previously to September, 1592, and hence it may be concluded that all Shakespeare's plays on the subject of that reign, although perhaps subsequently revised in a few places by the author, were originally produced in that year. A surreptitious and tinkered version of the third part, made up by an inferior hand chiefly out of imperfect materials, appeared in 1595 under the title of the *Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*, and therein stated to have been "sundry times acted by the Earl of Pembroke's servants."

There is no reason for wonder in the style of a young author being influenced by that of a popular and accomplished contemporary, and judgment on the authorship of much of the above-named plays should not be ruled by a criticism which can only fairly be applied to the rapidly approaching period when the great dramatist had outlived the possibility of appearing in the character of an imitative writer. That Shakespeare commenced his literary vocation as, to some extent, a follower of Marlowe can hardly be denied, even were the line quoted by Greene the only remnant of his early plays; and that the three parts of *Henry the Sixth* had been some years on the stage, when *Henry the Fifth* was produced in 1599, may be gathered from that interesting relic of literary autobiography, the final chorus to the latter play. No theory respecting the history of the former dramas is wholly free from embarrassing perplexities, but that which best agrees with the positive evidences is that which concedes the authorship of the three plays to Shakespeare, their production to the year 1592, and the quarto editions of the second and

third parts as vamped, imperfect, and blundering versions of the poet's own original dramas.

The *Groatsworth of Wit* was published very soon after the unfortunate writer's decease, that is to say, it appeared towards the end of September, 1592; and it is clear that one portion of it had been composed under the influence of a profound jealousy of Shakespeare. Greene is addressing his fellow-dramatists, and speaking of the actors of their plays, thus introduces his satirical observations on the author of the *Third Part of Henry the Sixth*, with a travesty of the line above mentioned,—"trust them not, for there is an upstart crow, beautified with our feathers, that, with his *Tygers heart wrapt in a Players hide*, supposes he is as well able to bumbast out a blanke verse as the best of you; and being an absolute *Johannes factotum*, is, in his owne conceit, the onely Shake-scene in a countrie." It was natural that these impertinent remarks should have annoyed the object of them, and that they were so far effective may be gathered from an interesting statement made by the editor, Henry Chettle, in a work of his own, entitled *Kind-Heart's Dream*, that he published a few weeks afterward, in which he specially regrets that the attack had proved offensive to Shakespeare, whom, he observes,—"at that time I did not so much spare as since I wish I had, for that, as I have moderated the heate of living writers, and might have usde my owne discretion, especially in such a case, the author beeing dead, that I did not I am as sory as if the originall fault had beene my fault, because myselfe have seene his demeanor no lesse civill than he exelent in the qualitie he professes; besides, divers of worship have reported his uprightnes of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace

in writting, that aprooves his art." Apologies of this kind are so apt to be overstrained that we can hardly gather more from the present one than the respectable position Shakespeare held as a writer and actor, and that Chettle, having made his acquaintance, was desirous of keeping friends with one who was beginning to be appreciated by the higher classes of society. The annoyance, however, occasioned by Greene's posthumous criticism was soon forgotten by the poet amid the triumphs of his subsequent career.

Removing now the scene of our fragmentary history from the metropolis to the country, we find, at the time of Greene's lampoonry, the poet's father busily engaged with his counters in appraising the goods of one Henry Field, a tanner of Stratford-on-Avon, whose inventory, attached to his will, was taken in August, 1592. This tradesman's son, Richard, who was apprenticed to a printer in London in the year 1579, took up his freedom in 1587, and soon afterwards commenced business on his own account, an elegant copy of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, 1589, being among the numerous works that issued from his press. It is most likely, indeed all but certain, that Shakespeare participated in his father's acquaintance with the printer's relatives, and at all events there was the provincial tie, so specially dear to Englishmen when at a distance from the town of their birth, between the poet and Richard Field. When, therefore, the latter is discovered, early in the year 1593, engaged in the production of *Venus and Adonis*, it is only reasonable to infer that the author had a control over the typographical arrangements. The purity of the text and the nature of the dedication may be thought to strengthen this opinion, and although poems

were not then generally introduced to the public in the same glowing terms usually accorded to dramatic pieces, the singularly brief and anonymous title-page does not bear the appearance of a publisher's handywork. Field, however, registered the copyright to himself on April 18, and the work was offered for sale, at the White Greyhound in St. Paul's Churchyard, by his friend, John Harrison, the publisher of the first three editions, and who next year became the owner both of the *Venus* and *Lucrece*. It may be well to record that the publication had what was probably the vicarious sanction of no less an individual than the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, although no Puritan, would scarcely have considered its exquisite versification sufficient to atone for its voluptuous character.

The poem of *Venus and Adonis*, which was favorably received and long continued to be the most popular book of the kind, is termed by the author "the first heir of my invention." If these words are to be literally interpreted, it must have been written in or before the year 1592; but Shakespeare may be referring only to works of a strictly poetical character, which were then held in far higher estimation than dramatic compositions. However that may be, the oft-repeated belief that *Venus and Adonis* was a production of his younger days at Stratford-on-Avon can hardly be sustained. It is extremely improbable that an epic, so highly finished and so completely devoid of patois, could have been produced under the circumstances of his then domestic surroundings, while, moreover, the notion is opposed to the best and earliest traditional opinions. It is also to be observed that there is nothing in the dedication in favor of such a conjecture, although the fact, had it been one, would have formed a ready and natural defense

against the writer's obvious timidity. The work was inscribed, apparently without permission, to Lord Southampton, a young nobleman then only in his twentieth year, who about this time had commenced to exhibit a special disposition to encourage the rising authors of the metropolis.

Literature, in Shakespeare's time, was nearly the only passport of the lower and middle class to the countenance and friendship of the great. It was no wonder that the poet, in days when interest was all but omnipotent, should have wished to secure the advantages that could hardly fail to be derived from a special association with an individual in the favored position, and with the exceptionally generous character, of Lord Southampton. Wealthy, accomplished and romantic,—with a temperament that could listen to a metrical narrative of the follies of Venus without yielding to hysterics,—the young nobleman was presumably the most eligible dedicatee that Shakespeare could have desired for the introduction of his first poem to the literary world. It is evident, however, that, when he was penning the inscription to *Venus and Adonis*, whatever presentiment he may have entertained on the subject, he was by no means sure that his lordship would give a friendly reception to, much less so that he would be gratified by, the intended compliment. But all doubts upon these points were speedily removed, and little more than a twelvemonth elapsed before the poet is found warmly attached to Lord Southampton, and eagerly taking the opportunity, in his second address, of tendering his gratitude for favors conferred in the interval.

In the winter season of 1593–4, Shakespeare's earliest tragedy, which was, unfortunately, based on a repulsive tale, was brought out by the Earl of Sussex's actors, who

were then performing, after a tour in the provinces, at one of the Surrey theaters. They were either hired by, or playing under some financial arrangement with, Henslowe, who, after the representation of a number of revivals, ventured upon the production of a drama on the story of *Titus Andronicus*, the only new play introduced during the season. This tragedy, having been successfully produced before a large audience on January 23, 1594, was shortly afterward entered on the books of the Stationers' Company and published by Danter. It was also performed, almost if not quite simultaneously, by the servants of the Earls of Derby and Pembroke. Thus it appears that Shakespeare, up to this period, had written all his dramas for Henslowe, and that they were acted, under the sanction of that manager, by the various companies performing from 1592 to 1594 at the Rose Theater and Newington Butts. The acting copies of *Titus Andronicus* and the three parts of *Henry the Sixth* must of course have been afterwards transferred by Henslowe to the Lord Chamberlain's company.

Hideous and repulsive as the story of Tamora and the Andronici is now considered, it was anything but repugnant to the taste of the general public in Henslowe's day. Neither was it regarded as out of the pale of the legitimate drama by the most cultivated, otherwise so able a scholar and critic as Meres would hardly, several years after the appearance of *Titus Andronicus*, have inserted its title among those of the noteworthy tragedies of Shakespeare. The audiences of Elizabeth's time reveled in the very crudity of the horrible, so much so that nearly every kind of bodily torture and mutilation, or even more revolting incidents, formed part of the stock business of the

theater. Murders were in special request in all kinds of serious dramas. Wilson, one of Lord Leicester's servants, was thought in 1581 to be just the person to write a play then urgently desired, which was not only to "be original and amusing," but was also to include "plenty of mystery," and "be full of all sorts of murders, immorality, and robberies." Nor was the taste for the predominance of the worst kind of sensational incidents restricted to the public stage, as any one may see who will care to peruse the *Misfortunes of Arthur*, produced with great flourish by the students of Gray's Inn in 1588. This deplorable fancy was nearly in its zenith at the time of the appearance of *Titus Andronicus*. In the same year, 1594, there was published the *Tragicall Raigne of Selimus, Emperour of the Turkes*, a composition offering similar attractions, but the writer was so afraid of his massacres being considered too insipid, he thus reveals his misgivings to the audience,—

> "If this First Part, gentles, do like you well,
> The Second Part shall greater murders tell."

The character of the theatrical speculations of Henslowe was obviously influenced, in common with that of nearly all managers, by the current tastes of the public, and, in an age like the one now spoken of, is it wonderful that he should have considered the story of Titus Andronicus a fit theme for the dramatist? Is it also marvelous that Shakespeare, a young author then struggling into position, should not have felt it his duty, on æsthetic grounds, to reject an offer the acceptance of which invited no hostile criticism, while it opened out a prospect of material advantages? Henslowe's judgment, regulated by thoughts of the money-box, not by those of attempted reforms of

the drama, were no doubt in his own opinion amply justified by the result. A certain deference to the expectations of a popular audience is, indeed, nearly always essential to the continuous support of a theater, and it is not unlikely that the very incidents now so offensive were those which mainly contributed to the success of the tragedy. As for the poet's share in the transaction, we are too apt to consider it indefensible under any measure of temptation, without reflecting to what extent a familiarity with representative horrors might produce an unconscious indifference to their ghastliness even in the tenderest of natures. Such horrors belong to the taste of the age, not to that of the individual. We must try to reconcile ourselves, as best we may, to the obvious fact that Shakespeare did not always consider it necessary to deviate from the course of his foundation-tales for the sake of avoiding the barbarities of the ancient stage. Had it been otherwise, the story of *Titus Andronicus* might have been purified, and we also mercifully spared from a contemplation of the appalling eye-scene in the tragedy of *Lear*.

No discussion on either of the last-named plays, or on many of the others, can be satisfactorily conducted so long as the influences of the older drama, and the theatric usages of the time, are not ever carefully borne in mind. It is a fallacy to admit, with many, the necessity of true criticism being grounded upon a reverential belief that the whole of Shakespeare's plays, in the forms in which they have descended to us, are examples of the unvarying perfection of the writer's judgment and dramatic art. That he was endowed with an exquisite judgment there is ample evidence, but that it was not always utilized is equally indisputable. It is obvious that, in several in-

stances, when vivifying some of the most popular old English dramas, he was contented to transfer irrational plots and defective constructions that had been firmly established in public favor. The latter were sometimes adopted without an effort to bring them into harmony with the conduct of the action; and there appears to have been generally a disinclination on his part to originate either plots or incidents. So numerous were the popular and other tales that were suited for contemporary dramatic purposes, there was, as a rule, no theatrical necessity for his inventing either; while the creation of a new story, never an easy and generally a hazardous task for a dramatist, might have been more trouble to him than the composition of a play. Shakespeare was leading a busy life, and there are no indications that he would have delayed the completion of any one of his works for the sake of art. It should be remembered that his dramas were not written for posterity, but as a matter of business, never for his own speculation but always for that of the managers of the theater, the choice of subject being occasionally dictated by them or by patrons of the stage; his task having been to construct out of certain given or elected materials successful dramas for the audiences of the day. It is not pretended that he did not invariably take an earnest interest in his work, his intense sympathy with each character forbidding such an assumption; but simply that his other tastes were subordinated when necessary to his duty to his employers. If the managers considered that the popular feeling was likely to encourage, or if an influential patron or the Court desired, the production of a drama on some special theme, it was composed to order on that subject, no matter how repulsive the character of the plot or how

intrinsically it was unfitted for dramatic purposes. Working thus under the domination of a commercial spirit, it is impossible to say to what extent his work was affected by unfavorable influences; such, for example, as the necessity of finishing a drama with undue haste, the whole, as it may have been, especially in his early days, written under disturbing circumstances in the room of a noisy tavern or in an inconvenient lodging that served him for "parlor, kitchen, and hall." And, again, besides the incongruities derived from the older plays or novels, his control over his art was occasionally liable to be governed by the customs and exigencies of the ancient stage, so much so that, in a few instances, the action of a scene was diverted for the express purpose of complying with those necessities. From some of these causes may have arisen simultaneous inequalities in taste and art which otherwise appear to be inexplicable, and which would doubtlessly have been removed had Shakespeare lived to have given the public a revised edition of his works during his retirement at Stratford-on-Avon, and had also wished to display that uniformity of excellence which he alone, of all prolific writers, might have achieved.

The Burbages, however, had no conception of his intellectual supremacy, and, if they had, it is certain that they would not have deviated on that account from the course they were in the habit of pursuing. In their estimation, however, he was merely, to use their own words, a "deserving man," an effective actor and a popular writer, one who would not have been considered so valuable a member of their staff had he not also worked as a practical man of business, knowing that the success of the theater was identified with his own, and that, within certain limits, it was

necessary that his art should be regulated by expediency. There is, indeed, no evidence that Shakespeare wrote, at any period of his life, without a constant reference to the immediate effect of his dramas upon the theatrical public of his own day; and it may reasonably be suspected that there is not one of them which is the result of an express or cherished literary design. He was sometimes, moreover, in such a hurry of composition that a reference to the original foundation-story is necessary for the complete elucidation of his meaning, another circumstance which is incompatible with a resolute desire for the construction of perfect artistic work. This is one of the several indications which lead to the high probability that his theatrical success was neither the result of a devotion to art, nor of a solicitude for the eulogy of readers, but of his unrivaled power of characterization, of his intimate knowledge of stage business, and of a fidelity to mental nature that touched the hearts of all. These qualities, although less prominently developed in *Titus Andronicus* than in many other of his plays, are yet to be observed in that inferior work. Even amid its display of barbarous and abandoned personages, neither sternness nor profligacy is permitted to altogether extinguish the natural emotions, while, at the same time, the unities of character are well sustained. It is by tests such as these, not by counting its syllables or analyzing its peculiarities of style, that the authenticity of Shakespeare's earliest tragedy should be determined.

Although it is dangerous nowadays to enter upon the history of Shakespeare's art with the language of common-sense, the risk must be encountered if we are not contented to lose interesting examples of the poet's youthful genius. If, indeed, all is to be discarded that offends the extra-

judicial taste of modern purists, the object of our idolatry will be converted into a king of dramatic shreds and patches. The evil arises from the practice of discussing the intricacies of that art without reference to the conditions under which it was evolved. Those which have been above-mentioned will go far to explain many difficulties, and especially the singular variations of power that are occasionally to be traced in one and the same drama. A few words on the general question may now be added. In one sense, that of being the delineator of the passions and character, Shakespeare was the greatest artist that ever lived, as he was also in melody, in humor, and in all kinds of dramatic expression. But in another and very usual meaning of that personal term, in that of being an elaborator intent on rendering his component work artistically faultless in the eye of criticism, he can hardly be thought to have even a slight claim to the title. When Ben Jonson told Drummond of Hawthornden, in 1619, that "Shakespeare wanted art," he referred no doubt to his general negligence in the latter respect, and perhaps especially to his occasional defects in construction. One of Shakespeare's most wonderful gifts was his unlimited power of a characterial invention to suit any kind of plot, no matter how ill-advised, and, at the same time harmonize with theatrical expediencies, however incongruous, which might have been considered by the managers or actors to have been essential to the maintenance of popularity. "His wit," observes the same Rare Ben, dissatisfied with what he no doubt thought a reckless mode of composition, "was in his own power;—would *the rule* of it had been so too!" It was natural that Jonson, with his reverence for classical models, should regard his

great contemporary's indifference to them with dismay. But Shakespeare, endowed with an universal genius, created his personages by unfettered instinct, and, most happily, the times and circumstances were alike favorable to the development of the dramatic power by which alone the perfect results of that genius could have been exhibited. Commencing his public life as an actor, he had the inestimable advantage of gaining a preliminary knowledge of all that was most likely to be effective on the stage, the then conventionalities of which, moreover, by their very simplicity, and notwithstanding one or two drawbacks, were eminently calculated for the fullest exercise of an author's poetic and imaginative faculties. Then there was a language which, having for some time past been emancipated from the influence of literal terminations, had attained a form that gave matchless facilities for the display of nervous expression, and this in the brightest period of earnest and vigorous English thought. That language found in Shakespeare its felicitous and unrivaled exponent, and although on occasion his words either imperfectly represent the thought or are philologically erroneous, becoming thus to mere readers inextricably obscure, it may be confidently averred that there is not one speech, the essential meanings of which, if it were properly delivered, would not have been directly intelligible to the auditory. He had also ready prepared to his hands the matured outward form of a drama, its personages and their histories, all waiting for the hand that was to endow them with grace and life. It was then his unconscious mission through the most effective agency, that of the stage, to interpret human nature to the people. That interpretation was fortunately neither cramped nor distorted by the necessity of

adherence to literary rule, while the popular tastes sanctioned its uncontrolled application to every variety of character, through all kinds of probable or improbable situation,—before fairy-land had been exiled, and the thunder of fie-foh-fum had lost its solemnity. Writing first for a living, and then for affluence, his sole aim was to please an audience, most of whom, be it remembered, were not only illiterate, but unable to either read or write. But this very ignorance of the large majority of his public, so far from being a disadvantage, enabled him to disregard restrictive canons and the tastes of scholars,—to make that appeal to the heart and intellect which can only be universal when it reaches the intuitive perceptions of the lowliest,—and by exhibiting his marvelous conceptions in the pristine form in which they had instinctively emanated, become the poet of nature instead of the poet of art. That Shakespeare wrote without effort, by inspiration not by design, was, so far as it has been recorded, the unanimous belief of his contemporaries and immediate successors. It was surely to this comprehensive truth, and not exclusively to the natural music of his verse, that Milton referred when, in two of the most exquisite lines respecting him that were ever penned, he speaks of Fancy's child warbling "his native wood-notes wild." If those notes had been cabined by philosophy and methodically cultivated, they might have been as intrinsically powerful, but they would assuredly have lost much of their present charm.

It cannot be absolutely observed of Shakespeare, as it has been of another great poet, that he woke up one morning to discover that he was famous, but there is reason for believing that the publication of his *Lucrece*, in

the May of this year, 1594, almost immediately secured for its author a higher reputation than would then have been established by the most brilliant efforts of dramatic art. This magnificent poem, which was originally proposed to be entitled the *Ravishment of Lucrece*, must have been written after the dedication to *Venus and Adonis*, and before the entry of the former work at Stationers' Hall, that is to say, at some time between April, 1593, and May, 1594. There can be no doubt of the estimation in which it was held in the year of publication, the author of an elegy on Lady Helen Branch, 1594, including among our *greater poetes*,—"you that have writ of chaste Lucretia, = whose death was witnesse of her spotlesse life;" and Drayton, in his *Matilda*, of the same date, speaking of *Lucrece*, "lately reviv'd to live another age." Shakespeare's new poem is also mentioned in Willobie's *Avisa*, published in September, 1594, the earliest contemporary work in which he is introduced by name; and in the following year, "Lucrecia—sweet Shakespeare," is a marginal note to Polimanteia, 1595, one which implies that it was then considered his best work. Later references testify its continued appreciation, and it was received as the perfect exposition of woman's chastity, a sequel, or rather perhaps a companion, to the earlier one of her profligacy. The contemporaries of Shakespeare allude more than once to the two poems as being his most important works, and as those on which his literary distinction chiefly rested.

The prefixes to the *Venus* and *Lucrece* are, in the presence of so few biographical memorials, inestimable records of their author. The two dedications to Lord Southampton and the argument to the second work are the only

non-dramatic prose compositions of Shakespeare that have descended to modern times, while the former are, alas, the sole remaining samples of his epistolary writings. The latter are of course by far the more interesting, and, making allowances for the inordinate deference to rank which then prevailed, they are perfect examples of the judicious fusion of independence with courtesy in a suggestive application for a favor, and in expressions of gratitude for its concession.

In the June of this same year, 1594, *Titus Andronicus* was performed at Newington Butts by the Lord Chamberlain's, then acting in conjunction with the Lord Admiral's, Servants, the poet most likely taking a part in the representation. The earliest definite notice, however, of his appearance on the stage, is one in which he is recorded as having been a player in two comedies that were acted before Queen Elizabeth in the following December, at Greenwich Palace. He was then described as one of the Lord Chamberlain's Servants, and was associated in the performances with Kemp and Burbage, the former of whom was the most favorite comedian of the day. It is not known to what company or companies Shakespeare belonged previously to his adhesion to the one last named; but the probabilities are these.—It is well ascertained that Henslowe was an exceedingly grasping manager, and it is therefore, most unlikely that he would have speculated in new plays that were not intended for immediate use. We may then fairly assume that every drama composed for him would be, in the first instance, produced by the actors that occupied his theater when the manuscript was purchased. Now, as Shakespeare was an actor as well as a dramatist, there is an inclination

towards the belief that he would have been engaged at Henslowe's theater when employed to write for that personage, and, if we accept the theory of early production, would have belonged to those companies by whom the first representations of his dramas were given. If this view be taken, it would appear not altogether unlikely that the poet was one of Lord Strange's actors in March, 1592; one of Lord Pembroke's a few months later; and that he had joined the company of the Earl of Sussex in or before January, 1594.

There were rare doings at Gray's Inn in the Christmas holidays of the year last mentioned. The students of that house had usually excelled in their festive arrangements, and now they were making preparations for revels on a scale of exceptional magnificence, sports that were to include burlesque performances, masques, plays and dances, as well as processions through London and on the Thames. A mock Court was held at the Inn under the presidency of one Henry Helmes, a Norfolk gentleman, who was elected Prince of Purpoole, the ancient name of the manor, other students being elected to serve under him in all the various offices then appertaining to royalty and government. The grand entertainment of all was arranged for the evening of Innocent's Day, December 28, on which occasion high scaffolds had been erected in the hall for the accommodation of the revelers and the principal guests, a larger number of the latter having received invitations. Among the guests, the students of the Inner Temple, joining in the humor of their professional neighbors, and appearing as an embassy credited by their Emporer, arrived about nine o'clock "very gallantly appointed." The ambas-

sador, we are told, was "brought in very solemnly, with sound of trumpets, the King-at-Arms and Lords of Purpoole making to his company, which marched before him in order;—he was received very kindly by the Prince, and placed in a chair beside his Highness, to the end that he might be partaker of the sports intended." Complimentary addresses were then exchanged between the Prince and the Ambassador, but, owing to defective arrangements for a limitation of the number of those entitled to admission on the stage, there followed a scene of confusion which ended in the Templarians retiring in dudgeon. "After their departure," as we are told in the original narrative, "the throngs and tumults did somewhat cease, although so much of them continued as was able to disorder and confound any good inventions whatsoever; in regard whereof, as also for that the sports intended were especially for the gracing of the Templarians, it was thought good not to offer anything of account saving dancing and reveling with gentlewomen; and, after such sports, a *Comedy of Errors*, like to Plautus his *Menechmus*, was played by the players; so that night was begun and continued to the end in nothing but confusion and errors, whereupon it was afterwards called the Night of Errors." This is the earliest notice of the comedy which has yet been discovered, but that it was written before the year 1594 may be inferred from an allusion in it to the civil war for and against Henry IV, the Protestant heir to the French throne, a contest which terminated in 1593.

The spacious and elegant open-roofed hall of Gray's Inn, the erection of which was completed in the year 1560, is one of the only two buildings now remaining

in London in which, so far as we know, any of the plays of Shakespeare were performed in his own time. In accordance with the then usual custom of the Inns of Court, professional actors were engaged for the representation of the *Comedy of Errors*, and although their names are not mentioned, it may be safely inferred that the play was acted by the Lord Chamberlain's Company, that to which Shakespeare was then attached, and the owners of the copyright. The performance must have taken place very late on the night following the day in which the poet appeared before Queen Elizabeth at Greenwich. On the next evening there was a Commission of Oyer and Terminer at Gray's Inn to enquire into the circumstances of the misfortunes of the previous night, the cause of the tumult being assigned to the intervention of a sorcerer; but it is hardly pleasant to be told, even in burlesque, that this personage was accused of having "foisted a company of base and common fellows to make up our disorders with a play of errors and confusions." The *Comedy of Errors*, the perfection of dramatic farce, long continued an acting play, it having been performed before James I on December 28, 1604.

When Greene thought to be sarcastic in terming Shakespeare "an absolute Johannes Factotum," he furnished an independent and valuable testimony to the poet's conspicuous activity. It is but reasonable to assume that part of this energy in theatrical matters was devoted, in accordance with the ordinary practice of the time, to the revision and enlargement of the plays of others, work then assigned by managers to any convenient hands, without reference to sentimental views of authorial integrity. No record, however, has been discovered of the name of

even one drama so treated by Shakespeare in the early period of his career, so that, if any such composition is preserved, the identification necessarily depends upon the tests of internal evidence. These are valueless in the chief direction, for there is surely not a known possible example in which is to be traced the incontestible supremacy of dramatic power that would on that account sanction the positive attribution of even one of its scenes to the pen of the great dramatist. Other tests, such as those of phraseology and mannerism, are nearly always illusory, but in an anonymous and popular drama entitled the *Reign of King Edward III*, produced in or before the year 1595, there are occasional passages which, by most judgments, will be accepted as having been written either by Shakespeare, or by an exceedingly dexterous and successful imitator of one of his then favorite styles of composition. For who but one or the other could have endowed a kind and gentle lady with the ability of replying to the impertinent addresses of a foolish sovereign in words such as these,—

> As easy may my intellectual soul
> Be lent away, and yet my body live,
> As lend my body, palace to my soul,
> Away from her, and yet retain my soul.
> My body is her bower, her court, her abbey,
> And she an angel,—pure, divine, unspotted!
> If I should lend her house, my lord, to thee,
> I kill my poor soul, and my poor soul me.

or have enabled the king, when instinctively acknowledging the dread effect of her beauty, to thus express a wish that "ugly treason" might lie,—

> No farther off than her conspiring eye,
> Which shoots infected poison in my heart,

Beyond repulse of wit or cure of art.
Now in the sun alone it doth not lie,
With light to take light from a mortal eye;
For here two day-stars, that mine eyes would see,
More than the sun steal mine own light from me.
Contemplative desire!—desire to be
In contemplation that may master thee.

or have made the royal secretary convey his impression of the lady's conquest in the following lines,—

I might perceive his eye in her eye lost,
His ear to drink her sweet tongue's utterance;
And changing passion, like inconstant clouds,
That rackt upon the carriage of the winds,
Increase and die in his disturbed cheeks.
Lo! when she blush'd even then did he look pale,
As if her cheeks, by some enchanted power,
Attracted had the cherry blood from his.
Anon, with reverent fear, when she grew pale,
His cheeks put on their scarlet ornaments,
But no more like her oriental red
Than brick to coral, or live things to dead.

but, as it is possible that *Edward III* was composed some time before the year 1595, it may, of course, be assumed that Shakespeare himself was the imitator, in his own acknowledged works, of the style of the writer of this anonymous play, or that of some other author, the predecessor of both. Not one in fifty of the dramas of this period having descended to modern times, much of the reasoning upon this and similar questions must be received with grave suspicion of its validity, and the exact history of the composition of the play above quoted will most likely remain for ever a mystery. If, however, it is thought probable that Shakespeare's career of imitation expired with his treading in some of the footsteps of Marlowe, and that he had not, at the latest time when

Edward III could have appeared, achieved a popularity sufficient to attract imitators of his own style, then there will be at least an excusable surmise that his work is to be traced in parts of that historical drama. Every now and then one meets in it with passages, especially in the scenes referring to the King's infatuation for the Countess of Salisbury, which are so infinitely superior in composition to the rest of the play, and so exactly in Shakespeare's manner, this presumption, under the above named premises, can scarcely be avoided. Whether this view be accepted or not, *Edward III* will, under any circumstances, be indissolubly connected with the literary history of the great dramatist, for one of its lines is also found in his ninety-fourth sonnet. As the last-named poem, even if it had been written as early as 1595, was not printed for many years afterwards, it is unlikely that the line in question could have been transplanted from the sonnet into the play by any one but Shakespeare himself, who, however, might have reversed the operation, whether he were or were not the original author of the words. This is the passage in the drama in which the line of the sonnet is introduced,—

> A spacious field of reasons could I urge
> Between his gloomy daughter and thy shame,—
> That poison shows worst in a golden cup;
> Dark night seems darker by the lightning flash;
> *Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds;*
> And every glory that inclines to sin,
> The shame is treble by the opposite.

In the summer of the year 1596, upon the death of the Lord Chamberlain on July 22, the company of actors to which the poet belonged became the servants of that nobleman's eldest son, Lord Hunsdon, and one of the first

dramas selected by them, while in their new position, was Shakespeare's tragedy of *Romeo and Juliet*, which was produced at the Curtain Theater and met with great success. *Romeo and Juliet* may be said, indeed, to have taken the metropolies by storm and to have become *the* play of the season. Its popularity led to the compilation of an imperfect and unauthorized edition which issued from Danter's press in the following year, one got up in such haste that two fonts of type were engaged in its composition. In 1599, Cuthbert Burby, a bookseller, whose shop was near the Royal exchange, published the tragedy with the overstrained announcement that it had been "newly corrected, augmented and amended." This is the version of the drama which is now accepted, and it appears to be an authentic copy of the tragedy produced in 1596, after a few passages in the latter had been revised by the author. The long-continued popularity of *Romeo and Juliet* may be inferred from several early allusions, as well as from the express testimony of Leonard Digges, but it is rather singular that the author's name is not mentioned in any of the old editions until some time after the year 1609. An interesting tradition respecting one of the characters in this tragedy is recorded in 1672 by Dryden, who observes that the great dramatist "showed the best of his skill in his Mercutio, and he said himself that he was forced to kill him in the third act, to prevent being killed by him." The eminent narrator of this little anecdote ingenuously adds,—"but, for my part, I cannot find he was so dangerous a person;—I see nothing in him but what was so exceeding harmless that he might have lived to the end of the play, and died in his bed, without offense to any man."

A severe domestic affliction marred the pleasure that the author might otherwise have derived from his last-mentioned triumph. His only son Hamnet, then in his twelfth year, died early in August, 1596, and was buried at Stratford-on-Avon on the eleventh of that month. At the close of the year the poet also lost his uncle Henry, the farmer of Snitterfield, during the same Christmas holidays in which his company had the honor of performing on two occasions before Queen Elizabeth at Whitehall Palace.

No positive information on the subject has been recorded, but the few evidences there are lead to the belief that the Shakespeare family continued, throughout his life, to reside in the poet's native town. They had not accompanied him in his first visit to the metropolis, and, from the circumstance of the burial of Hamnet at Stratford-on-Avon, it may be confidently inferred that they were living there at the time of the poor youth's decease. It is in the highest degree unlikely that they could have taken up an abode anywhere else but in London, and no hint is given of the latter having been the case. Let it also be borne in mind that Shakespeare's occupations debarred him from the possibility of his sustaining even an approach to a continuous domestic life, so that, when his known attachment to Stratford is taken into consideration, it seems all but certain that his wife and children were but waiting there under economical circumstances, perhaps with his parents in Henley Street, until he could provide them with a comfortable residence of their own. Every particular that is known indicates that he admitted no disgrace in the irresponsible persecution which occasioned his retreat to London, and that he persistently entertained the wish to make Stratford his and his family's

only permanent home. This desire was too confirmed to be materially affected even by the death of his only son, for, shortly after that event, he is discovered taking a fancy to one of the largest houses in the town, and becoming its purchaser in the following year. At this time, 1596, he appears to have been residing, when in town, in lodgings near the Bear Garden in Southwark.

There is preserved at the College of Arms the draft of a grant of coat-armor to John Shakespeare, dated in October, 1596, the result of an application made no doubt some little time previously. It may be safely inferred, from the unprosperous circumstances of the grantee, that this attempt to confer gentility on the family was made at the poet's expense. This is the first evidence that we have of his rising pecuniary fortunes, and of his determination to advance in social position.

Early in the year 1597,—on New Year's Day, Twelfth Night, Shrove Sunday, and Shrove Tuesday,—Shakespeare's company again performed before the Queen at Whitehall. In the summer they made a tour through Sussex and Kent, visiting Faversham and Rye in August, and acting at Dover on September 3. In their progress to the latter town, he who was hereafter to be the author of *Lear* might have witnessed, and been impressed with, the samphire gatherers on the celebrated rock that was afterwards to be regarded the type of Edgar's imaginary precipice. By the end of the month they had quitted the southern counties, and traveled westward as far as Bristol; acting about the same time at Marlborough and Bath.

In the spring of this year the great dramatist made his first investment in realty by the purchase of New Place, consisting of a mansion and nearly an acre of land in the

center of the town of Stratford-on-Avon. The estate was sold to him for £60, a moderate sum for so considerable a property, but in a paper of the time of Edward VI the residence is described as having then been for some time "in great ruyne and decay and unrepayred," so that it was probably in a dilapidated condition when it was transferred to Shakespeare. There are reasons for believing that it was renovated by the new owner; but whatever may have been its state of repair at the time of its acquisition, it was unquestionably one of the largest domiciles in the town, there having been no other, with the single exception of the College, that was conspicuously more important. Sir Hugh Clopton, for whom it was erected, speaks of it in 1496 as his "great house," a title under which, as it will be observed anon, it was popularly known at Stratford for upwards of two centuries. Neither its history nor its magnitude sufficed, however, to attract the serious consideration of our early topographers, and thus it is that scarcely any details of a precise character have been discovered respecting the nature of the house, one which, if now in existence, would have been the most interesting edifice on the surface of the globe. We know indeed, that it was mainly constructed of brick raised on stone foundations, that it was gabled, and that there was a bay-window on the eastern or garden side, but little beyond this. Two eye-witnesses only, out of the numbers who had seen the building previously to its destruction, have left memorials, and those but faint notices, of its appearance. Leland, who wrote about the year 1540, simply describes it as "a praty house of bricke and tymbre," words which may imply either that the upper part was formed entirely of wood or that there

were large portions of bricknogging in the outer walls. Our other informant was a native of Stratford-on-Avon, one Richard Grimmitt, who was very familiar with New Place in the years immediately preceding its demolition, and whose old-age dim memory of the locality in 1767 is thus recorded by the Rev. Joseph Greene, an intelligent Warwickshire antiquary of the last century,—"this Richard said he in his youth had been a playfellow with Edward Clopton, senior, eldest son of Sir John Clopton, knight, and had been often with him in the Great House near the Chapel in Stratford call'd New Place; that, to the best of his remembrance, there was a brick wall next the street, with a kind of porch at that end of it next the Chapel, when they cross'd a small kind of green court before they enter'd the house, which was bearing to the left and fronted with brick, with plain windows, consisting of common panes of glass set in lead, as at this time." It appears from this statement that the main entrance was then in Chapel-lane, and this was no doubt the case at a much earlier period, arrangements of that kind being very rarely changed. We may rest assured, therefore, that, when Ben Jonson or Drayton visited the provincial home of the author of *Twelfth Night,* he would arrive there from the lane through a porched gateway, entering in front of the lawn, a barn on his right hand and the house on the left. All this is in consonance with what is known respecting the surroundings of a large number of other contemporary mansions. "The architecture of an old English gentleman's house," observes Aubrey, alluding to the Shakespearean era, "was a good high strong wall, a gate-house, a great hall and parlor, and within the little green court

where you come in stood on one side the barne;—they then thought not the noise of the threshold ill musique." In the poet's time there were two barns on the Chapel-lane side of New Place between the open area mentioned by Grimmitt and the eastern termination of the grounds, but this is all that we know respecting the outbuildings, unless, indeed, there can be included under the latter term an ancient well, the stone-work of which yet remains in a nearly perfect condition. The chief fact of interest, however, in the personal annals of this year, 1597, is the remarkable circumstance that Shakespeare, after leaving his native town in indigence only twelve years previously, should now have been enabled to become, so far as material advantages were concerned, one of its leading inhabitants.

However limited may have been the character of the poet's visits to his native town, there is no doubt that New Place was henceforward to be accepted as his established residence. Early in the following year, on February 4, 1598, corn being then at an unprecedented and almost famine price at Stratford-on-Avon, he is returned as the holder of ten quarters in the Chapel Street Ward, that in which the newly acquired property was situated, and in none of the indentures is he described as a Londoner, but always as "William Shakespeare of Stratford-on-Avon, in the county of Warwick, gentleman." There is an evidence in the same direction in the interest that he took in the maintenance of his grounds, a fact elicited from two circumstances that are worthy of record. It appears from a comparison of descriptions of parcels, 1597 and 1602, that in the earlier years of his occupancy, he arranged a fruit-orchard in that portion of his garden which adjoined the neighboring premises in Chapel

Street. Then there is the well-authenticated tradition that, in another locality near the back of the house, he planted with his own hands the first mulberry-tree that had ever been brought to Stratford-on-Avon. The date of the latter occurrence has not been recorded, but it may be assigned, with a high degree of probability, to the spring of 1609, in which year a Frenchman named Verton distributed an immense number of young mulberry plants through the midland counties of England. This novel arrangement was carried out by the order of James I, who vigorously encouraged the cultivation of that tree, vainly hoping that silk might thence become one of the staple productions of England.

The establishment of the fruit-orchard and the tradition respecting the mulberry-tree are the only evidences which have reached us of any sort of interest taken by the great dramatist in horticulture. It has, indeed, been attempted to prove his attachment to such pursuits by various allusions in his works, but no inferences as to his personal tastes can be safely drawn from any number of cognate references. There was, no doubt, treasured in the store-house of his perfect memory, and ready for immediate use, every technical expression, and every morsel of contemporary popular belief, that had once come within his hearing. So marvelous also was Shakespeare's all but intuitive perception of nearly every variety of human thought and knowledge, the result of an unrivaled power of rapid observation and deduction, if once the hazardous course of attempting to realize the personal characteristics or habits of the author through his writings be indulged in, there is scarcely an occupation that he might not be suspected of having adopted at one period or other of his

life. That he was familiar with and fondly appreciated the beauty of the wild flowers; that he was acquainted with many of the cultivated plants and trees; that he had witnessed and understood a few of the processes of gardening;—these facts may be admitted, but they do not prove that he was ever a botanist or a gardener. Neither are his numerous allusions to wild flowers and plants, not one of which appears to be peculiar to Warwickshire, evidences, as has been suggested, of the frequency of his visits to Stratford-on-Avon. It would be about as reasonable to surmise that he must have taken a journey to Elsinore before or when he was engaged on the tragedy of *Hamlet*, as to adopt the oft-repeated suggestion that the nosegay of Perdita could only have been conceived when he was wandering on the banks of the Avon. To judge in that manner from allusions in the plays it might be inferred that *The Winter's Tale* must have been written in London, for there is little probability that a specimen of one of the flowers therein mentioned, the crown-imperial, could have been then seen in the provinces, whereas there is Gerard's excellent authority that it had "been brought from Constantinople among other bulbus rootes, and made denizons in our London gardens" (Herball, ed. 1597, p. 154). All inductions of this kind must be received with the utmost caution. Surely the poet's memory was not so feeble that it is necessary to assume that the selection of his imagery depended upon the objects to be met with in the locality in which he was writing. Even were this extravagant supposition to be maintained, no conclusion can be derived from it, for it is not probable that London would have had the exclusive

possession of any cultivated flower, while it is certain that Stratford had not the monopoly of every wild one. It should be recollected that the line of demarcation between country and town life was not strongly marked in Shakespeare's day. The great dramatist may be practically considered never to have relinquished a country life during any part of his career, for even when in the metropolis he must always have been within a walk of green fields, woods and plant-bordered streams, and within a few steps of some of the gardens which were then to be found in all parts of London, not even excepting the limited area of the city. Wild plants, as has been previously observed, were to be seen in the immediate vicinity of the Shoreditch theaters, and there is perhaps no specimen mentioned by Shakespeare which was not to be met with in or near the metropolis; but even were this not the case, surely the fact of his having resided in Warwickshire during at least the first eighteen years of his life is sufficient to account for his knowledge of them. Then again at a later period he must, in those days of slow and leisurely travel, have been well acquainted with the rural life and natural objects of many other parts of the country which were traversed by him when the members of his company made their professional tours, and with the district between London and Stratford-on-Avon he must of course have been specially familiar.

The metropolis in those days was the main abode of English letters and refined culture, but in other respects there could have been very few experiences that were absolutely restricted to its limits. If this is carefully borne in mind, it will save us from falling into numerous delusions, and, among others, into the common one of

fancying that Shakespeare must have drawn his tavern-life from an acquaintance with its character as it was exhibited on the banks of the Thames. There was no more necessity for him to have traveled from London in search of flowers than there was to have gone there for the,—"anon, anon, sir; score a pint of bastard in the Half Moon." We have, indeed, the direct testimony of Harrison, in 1586, to the effect that the metropolitan were then inferior to many of the provincial hotels. There was certainly at least one inn at Stratford-on-Avon which could bear comparison in essential respects with any to be found elsewhere in England. The Bear near the foot of the bridge possessed its large hall, its nominated rooms such as the Lion and Talbot chambers, an enormous quantity of house linen, a whole pipe of claret, two butts of sack, plenty of beer, upwards of forty tankards of different sizes, and, among its plate, "one goblet of silver, parcel-gilt." The last-named vessel need not be converted into the prototype of the one used by Mrs. Quickly in the Dolphin, nor, as a rule, in the absence of palpable evidence to the contrary, are there grounds for believing that the great dramatist was thinking of special localities when he was penning his various allusions or characterizations.

When the amazing number of different characters in the plays of Shakespeare is borne in mind, it is curious that he should have left so few traces in them of what is exclusively provincial. There are yet fewer, if any, of language or customs that can be thought to be absolutely peculiar to Stratford-upon-Avon, but examples of both are frequently to be met with that may fairly be supposed to have been primarily derived from the poet's local experiences. Among these is the expression,—*aroint thee,*

witch!—one that is so rare in our literature, either in print or manuscript, that the combined labors of philologists have failed to produce a single early instance of its use in the works of other authors. That it was, however, a familiar phrase in Shakespeare's time with the lower classes of his native place, is apparent from one of the town records. It is there narrated how one Goodie Bromlie, in an altercation with a woman named Holder, was so exceedingly free-spoken that she had the audacity to wind up a torrent of abuse with the unseemly execration,—*arent the, wich!* There is no doubt that Stratford yielded many another unusual expression,—many a quaint observation,—to the recollection of the great dramatist, and it is just possible that an occasional specimen may yet be met with in the locality. One of the inhabitants, so recently as the year 1843, was put into stocks for intoxication, and a passer-by, asking the captive how he liked the discipline, was met with the reply,—"I beant the first mon as ever were in the stocks, so I don't care a farden about it." If it were not an impossible view of the case, it might be fancied that the jovial delinquent had been travestying one of the reflections that Richard II is made to utter in the dungeon of Pomfret Castle.

Those who would desire to realize the general appearance of the Stratford-on-Avon of the poet's days must deplore the absence, not merely of a genuine sketch of New Place, but of any kind of view or engraving of the town as it appeared in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. Its aspect must then have been essentially different from that exhibited at a subsequent period. Relatively to ourselves, Shakespeare may practically be considered to have existed in a different land, not more than glimpses of

the real nature of which are now to be obtained by the most careful study of existing documents and material remains. Many enthusiasts of these times who visit Stratford-on-Avon are under the delusion that they behold a locality which recalls the days of the great dramatist, but, with the exception of a few diffused buildings, scarcely one of which is precisely in its original condition, there is no resemblance between the present town and the Shakespearean borough,—the latter with its medieval and Elizabethan buildings, its crosses, its numerous barns and thatched hovels, its water-mills, its street bridges and rivulets, its mud walls, its dunghills and fetid ditches, its unpaved walks and its wooden-spired church, with the common fields reaching nearly to the gardens of the Birth-Place. Neither can there be a much greater resemblance between the ancient and modern general views of the town from any of the neighboring elevations. The tower and lower part of the church, the top of the Guild Chapel, a few old tall chimneys, the course of the river, the mill-dam, and the outlines of the surrounding hills, would be nearly all that would be common to both prospects. There were, however, until the last few years, the old mill-bridge, which, excepting that rails had been added, preserved its Elizabethan form, the Cross-on-the-Hill, and the Wier Brake, the two latter fully retaining their original character. Now, alas, a hideous railway has obliterated all trace of the picturesque from what was one of the most interesting and charming spots in Warwickshire.

A former inhabitant of Stratford-on-Avon, writing in the year 1759, asserts that "the unanimous tradition of this neighborhood is that, by the uncommon bounty of the Earl of Southampton, he was enabled to purchase

houses and land at Stratford." According to Rowe,—"there is one instance so singular in the magnificence of this patron of Shakespeare's that, if I had not been assured that the story was handed down by Sir William D'Avenant, who was probably very well acquainted with his affairs, I should not have ventured to have inserted; that my Lord Southampton at one time gave him a thousand pounds to enable him to go through with a purchase which he heard he had a mind to." A comparison of these versions would indicate that, if the anecdote is based on truth, the gift was made on the occasion of the purchase of New Place in 1597; and it is probable that it was larger than the sum required for that object, although the amount named by Rowe must be an exaggeration. Unless the general truth of the story be accepted, it is difficult to believe that Shakespeare could have obtained, so early in his career, the ample means he certainly possessed in that and the following year. The largest emoluments that could have been derived from his professional avocations would hardly have sufficed to have accomplished such a result, and the necessity of forwarding continual remittances to Stratford-on-Avon must not be overlooked.

It was not until the year 1597 that Shakespeare's public reputation as a dramatist was sufficiently established for the booksellers to be anxious to secure the copyright of his plays. The first of his dramas so honored was the successful and popular one of King Richard II, which was entered as a tragedy on the books of the Stationers' Company by Andrew Wise, a publisher in St. Paul's Churchyard, on August 29, 1597. In the impression heralded by this entry the deposition scene was omitted for political reasons, objections having been made to its

introduction on the public stage, and it was not inserted by the publishers of the history until some years after the accession of James. Considering the small space that it occupies and its inoffensive character, the omission may appear rather singular, but during the few years that closed the eventful reign of Elizabeth, the subject of the deposition of Richard II bore so close an analogy, in the important respects of the wishes of those who desired a repetition of a similar occurrence, it was an exceedingly dangerous theme for the pen of contemporary writers.

One of the most popular subjects for the historical drama at this period was the story of Richard III. A piece on the events of this reign had been acted by the Queen's Company in or before the month of June, 1594, but there is no evidence that this production was known to the great dramatist. The earliest notice of Shakespeare's play hitherto discovered is in an entry of it as a tragedy on the books of the Stationers' Company in October, 1597, and it was published by Wise in the same year. The historical portions are to a certain extent taken from More and Holinshed, but with an utter defiance of chronology, the imprisonment of Clarence, for instance, preceding the funeral of Henry VI. There are, also, slight traces of an older play to be observed, passages which may belong to an inferior hand, and incidents, such as that of the rising of the ghosts, suggested probably by similar ones in a more ancient composition. That the play of *King Richard III*, as we now have it, is essentially Shakespeare's, cannot admit of a doubt; but as little can it be questioned that to the circumstance of an anterior work on the subject having been used do we owe some of its weakness and excessively turbulent character. No

copy of this older play is known to exist, but one brief speech and the two following lines have been accidentally preserved—"My liege, the Duke of Buckingham is ta'en, = And Banister is come for his reward"—from which it is clear that the new dramatist did not hesitate to adopt an occasional line from his predecessor, although he entirely omitted the character of Banister. Both plays must have been successful, for, notwithstanding the great popularity of Shakespeare's, the more ancient one sustained its ground on the English stage until the reign of Charles I.

Dick Burbage, the celebrated actor, undertook the character of Richard III, a part in which he was particularly celebrated. There was especially one telling speech in this most fiery of tragedies,—"a horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!"—which was enunciated by him with so much vigor and effect that the line became an object for the imitation, and occasionally for the ridicule, of contemporary writers. The speech made such an impression on Marston that it appears in his works not merely in its authentic form, but satirized and travestied into such lines as,—"a man! a man! a kingdom for a man" (*Scourge of Villanie*, ed. 1598)—"a boate, a boate, a boate, a full hundred markes for a boate" (*Eastward Hoe*, 1605)—"a foole, a foole, a foole, my coxcombe for a foole" (*Parasitaster*, 1606). Burbage continued to enact the part of Richard until his death in 1619, and his supremacy in the character lingered for many years in the recollection of the public; so that Bishop Corbet, writing in the reign of Charles I, and giving a description of the battle of Bosworth as narrated to him on the field by a provincial tavern-keeper, tells us

that, when the perspicuous guide—"would have said, King Richard died, = And called, a horse! a horse! he Burbage cried."

In the autumn of 1597, in the midst of the incipient popularity of this animated drama, John and Mary Shakespeare filed a bill in Chancery against Lambert for the recovery of Asbies, a design that the poet must have been very desirous of furthering to the utmost of his ability. It is most likely that he furnished the means for the prosecution of the suit, a course to which he would have been impelled not merely from a knowledge of the slender resources of his aged parents, but also from his having, as his mother's heir, so large a prospective interest in the success of the litigation. The acquisition of the farm had now become a matter of special importance. There were not merely the associations twining around the possession of a family estate to stimulate a desire for its restoration, but there was nearly at hand a very large increase in its annual value through the termination of a lease under which all but the dwelling was held from 1580 to 1601 at the inadequate rental of half a quarter of wheat and half a quarter of barley. Our knowledge of the course taken by the plaintiffs in furtherance of their object is imperfect, Lambert, in his answer to the above-mentioned bill, declaring that another one of like import had been afterwards exhibited against him by John Shakespeare in his individual capacity, and of this independent action no explanatory records have been discovered. The mere facts, however, of the last-named suit having been instituted, and of John Shakespeare having taken out two commissions under it for the examination of witnesses, show that there was a tolerably

well-furnished purse at his disposal, a circumstance which, unless the expense were borne by the poet, is difficult to reconcile with the plaintive appeal of his wife and himself when they asked the Court to bear in mind that "the sayde John Lamberte ys of greate wealthe and abilitie, and well frended and alied amongest gentlemen and freeholders of the countrey in the saide countie of Warwicke, where he dwelleth, and your saide oratours are of small wealthe, and verey fewe frends and alyance in the saide countie." The terms of this sample of legal policy must be attributed to the Counsel, but the facts, so far at least as they affect the parents of the great dramatist, were no doubt correctly stated. It appears that the suit was carried on for very nearly two years, publication having been granted in October, 1599, but, as no decree is recorded, it is all but certain that either the plaintiffs retired from the contest or that there was a compromise in favor of the possession of the land by the defendants. Had it been otherwise, something must have been afterwards heard of the Shakespearean ownership of the estate.

Queen Elizabeth held her court at Whitehall in the Christmas holidays of 1597, and among the plays then performed was, on December 26, the comedy of *Love's Labor's Lost*, printed early in the following year, 1598, under the title of,—*A Pleasant Conceited Comedie called, Loues labors lost.* No record has been discovered of the time at which this drama was first produced, but on the present occasion it had been "newly corrected and augmented," that is to say, it had received some additions and improvements from the hands of the author, but the play itself had not been re-written. A few scraps of the original version of the comedy have been accidentally pre-

served, and are of extreme interest as distinctly exhibiting Shakespeare's method of working in the revision of a play. Thus, for example, the following three lines of the earlier drama,—

> "From women's eyes this doctrine I derive;
> They are the ground, the books, the academes
> From whence doth spring the true Promethean fire."

are thus gracefully expanded in the corrected version which has so fortunately descended to us,—

> "From women's eyes this doctrine I derive;
> They sparkle still the right Promethean fire;
> They are the books, the arts, the academes,
> That show, contain, and nourish all the world;
> Else none at all in ought proves excellent."

Love's Labor's Lost is mentioned by Tofte and Meres in 1598, and was no doubt successful on the stage, or otherwise it would scarcely have been revised and published. Burbage, at all events, had a high opinion of the comedy, for when the company to which the author belonged selected it for a contemplated representation before Queen Anne of Denmark at Southampton House early in the year 1605, he observed that it was one "which for wit and mirth will please her exceedingly." That the great actor correctly estimated its attractions may be gathered from its being performed about the same time before the Court.

The *Firt Part of Henry IV*, the appearance of which on the stage may be confidently assigned to the spring of the year 1597, was followed immediately, or a few months afterwards, by the composition of the second part. It is recorded that both these plays were very favorably received by Elizabeth, the Queen especially relishing the character of Falstaff, and they were most probably among

the dramas represented before that sovereign in the Christmas holidays of 1597–1598. At this time, or then very recently, the renowned hero of the Boar's Head Tavern had been introduced as Sir John Oldcastle, but the Queen ordered Shakespeare to alter the name of the character. This step was taken in consequence of the representations of some member or members of the Cobham family, who had taken offense at their illustrious ancestor, Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, the Protestant martyr, being disparagingly introduced on the stage; and, accordingly, in or before the February of the following year, Falstaff took the place of Oldcastle, the former being probably one of the few names invented by Shakespeare.

The great dramatist himself, having nominally adopted Oldcastle from a character who is one of Prince Henry's profligate companions in a previous drama, a composition which had been several years before the public, and had not encountered effective remonstrance, could have had no idea that his appropriation of the name would have given so much displeasure. The subject, however, was viewed by the Cobhams in a very serious light. This is clearly shown, not merely by the action taken by the Queen, but by the anxiety exhibited by Shakespeare, in the epilogue to the second part, to place the matter beyond all doubt by the explicit declaration that there was in Falstaff no kind of association, satirical or otherwise, with the martyred Oldcastle. The whole incident is a testimony to the popularity of, and the importance attached to, these dramas of Shakespeare's at their first appearance, and it may be fairly questioned if any comedy on the early English stage was more immediately or enthusiastically appreciated than was the *First Part of Henry*

IV. Two editions of the latter play appeared in 1598, and, in the same year, there were quoted from it passages that had evidently already become familiar household words in the mouths of the public. Strangely enough, however, the earliest edition that bore the author's name on the title-page was not published till the following year.

The inimitable humor of Falstaff was appreciated at the Court as heartily as by the public. The Queen was so taken with the delineation of that marvelous character in the two parts of *Henry IV*, that she commanded Shakespeare to write a third part in which the fat knight should be exhibited as a victim to the power of love. Sovereigns in the olden time, especially one of Elizabeth's temperament, would never have dreamed of consulting the author as to the risk of the selected additional passion not harmonizing with the original conception. Shakespeare's business was to obey, not to indulge in what would have been considered an insolent and unintelligible remonstrance. His intention of continuing the history of the same Falstaff in a play on the subject of *Henry V* was, therefore, abandoned, and thus we have, in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, a comedy in which some of the names are adopted from the previous dramas, but the natures of the characters to which those names are attached are either modified or altogether transformed. The transient allusions which bring the latter play into the historical series are so trivial that they would appear to have been introduced merely out of deference to the Queen's expressed wishes for a continuation. The comedy diverges in every other respect from the two parts of *Henry IV*, and remains, with the induction to the *Taming of the*

Shrew, the only examples in the works of Shakespeare of absolute and continuous representations of English life and manners of the author's own time.

There is an old tradition which avers that the *Merry Wives of Windsor* was written, at the desire of the Queen, in the brief space of a fortnight, and that it gave immense satisfaction at the Court. Nor in those days of rapid dramatic composition, when brevity of time in the execution of such work was frequently part of an ordinary theatrical agreement, could such a feat have been impossible to Shakespeare. It could have been no trouble to him to write, and the exceptional celerity of his pen is recorded by several of his friends. Hence, probably, are to be traced most of the numerous little discrepancies which, by a careful analysis, may be detected throughout the works of the great dramatist, and which are seen perhaps more conspicuously in this play than in most of the others. Shakespeare had evidently, as a writer, neither a topographical nor a chronometrical mind, and took small care to avoid inconsistencies arising from errors in his dispositions of localities and periods of time; provided always of course that such oversights were not sufficiently palpable in the action to disturb the complete reception of the latter by the audience. We may rest assured that the poet, when engaged in dramatic writing, neither placed before his eyes an elaborate map of the scenes of the plot; nor reckoned the exact number of hours to be taken by a character in moving from one spot to another; nor, in the composition of each line of verse, repeated the syllables to ascertain if they developed the style of meter it was his duty to posterity to be using at

that special period of his life. Such precautions may best be indefinitely reserved for the use of that visionary personage—a scientific and arithmetical Shakespeare.

The earliest notice of the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, hitherto discovered, is in an entry on the registers of the Stationers' Company bearing date in January, 1602, in which year a catch-penny publisher surreptitiously issued a very defective copy, one made up by some poetaster, with the aid of short-hand notes, into the form of a play. That it was composed, however, before the death of Sir Thomas Lucy in July, 1600, may be safely taken for granted, for it is contrary to all records of Shakespeare's nature to believe that the more than playful allusions it contains to that individual would have been written after the decease of Shallow's prototype; and most probably also before the production of *King Henry V* in the summer of 1559, the royal command being the most feasible explanation that can be given of the author's change of purpose in the elimination of Falstaff from the action of the latter drama.

The *Second Part of Henry IV* and the *Merry Wives of Windsor* are, so far as we know, the only dramas of Shakespeare that are in any way connected with his personal history. They include scenes that could not have been written exactly in their present form if the great dramatist had not entertained an acute grudge against Sir Thomas Lucy. The knight of Charlecote was to be lampooned on the stage, then by far the most effective medium for public irrision, and hence arose the necessity of making Falstaff take his circuitous journeys to the "old pike's" house in Gloucestershire, to a locality within reach of Stratford-on-Avon and Henley-in-Arden, towns

that are faintly veiled under the names of Stamford and Hinckley. Hence also the direct and practically undisguised banter of the Lucys in the *Merry Wives*, for no one in Warwickshire could possibly have mistaken the allusion to the luces, the fishes otherwise termed pikes, that held so conspicuous a position in the family shield; and hence the rapidity with which the quarrel with Falstaff is dismissed after the object of its introduction had been satisfied. And although it may be consistent with dramatic possibilities that Shallow, when he arrives at Windsor on a mission of complaint to the King, should be welcomed there by an intimate friend, an inhabitant of that town, and at the same time a fellow-sportsman on the Cotswold,—one may be pardoned for suspecting that the Gloucestershire magistrate would not have been transferred to the royal borough if his presence had not been required for the effective illustration of the Charlecote escapade. Be this as it may, there is sufficient outside the region of conjecture to enable us to infer that the poet designed, in his satirical notices of the justice, an individual as well as a general application, and where could the listeners be found that would be likely to appreciate the former? Certainly neither in London nor at the Court, even on the very unlikely supposition that intelligence of the deer-stealing affair had reached so far, for Sir Thomas's public life, at the earliest date at which either of the comedies could have been produced, had for many years been restricted to the midland counties. It may, therefore, be assumed that the great dramatist had in view representations of his pieces that he knew would be organized at or near Stratford after the termination of their first runs in the metropolis. But although a long-sustained re-

sentment, under conditions of special insult or oppression, is not incompatible with the possession of an essentially gentle nature, it is not at all necessary to fancy that Shakespeare was here acting in the mere irrational spirit of retaliation. The owner of New Place had a social position to consolidate in his native town, and he took the best means of neutralizing a vexatious piece of scandal by holding up to local ridicule the individual whose line of treatment had attached to him whatever there was in the matter of personal degradation. And he would have been encouraged by the sympathy of the many who detested Sir Thomas's fanatical policy, even if the quarrel with him had not been in itself a passport to their favor. The news of the performance would somehow or other reach the ears of that potentate, who would naturally have been highly incensed at the unpardonable liberty that had been taken; the more so if, as it would appear, he was peculiarly sensitive to the opinion of his neighbors. The flight to London is an incontestable evidence that Shakespeare had no dread at that time of a metropolitan prosecution, and it was probably now, if ever, that Sir Thomas threatened to make his conduct, even at that late day, the subject of an appeal to the Star Chamber. Then would have followed the more pointed attack in the opening scene at Windsor, that in which his judicial dignities and his coat-armor, as well as the poaching adventure itself, are so mercilessly caricatured. It is not probable, however, that the entire significance of that dialogue will ever be ascertained. Much that is now obscure was no doubt immensely relished by the contemporary Stratfordians. It is easy to imagine, for example, the roars of laughter that might have greeted the

poet's declaration made through Falstaff, that he had never kissed the keeper's daughter, if so be that the lady in question had chanced to have been one of nature's scarecrows; and who will venture to be confident that there is no quaint hidden meanings in the references to the salt fish and the old coat? And again, as the assiduous knight never appears to have declined an invitation to take a glass of wine, it is very likely that the bacchanalian tournament with Silence is no overdrawn picture, one, moreover, that would have been thoroughly enjoyed in a neighborhood in which the jovial host had taken an active part in a commission for the reformation of tipplers.

Exaggeration is one of the legitimate resources of satirical art, and that it has largely affected the dramatic portraiture of Sir Thomas Lucy cannot admit of a reasonable doubt. A tolerable degree of business and even of administrative capacity is, indeed, sometimes to be observed in men of no great wisdom, but there are substantial reasons for believing that Sir Thomas could not have been the precise intellectual counterpart of Justice Shallow. This may be gathered from a perusal of his correspondence, from the notices of his parliamentary doings, and, so far as marble can be a faithful guide in such matters, from the expression of his features in the Charlecote effigy, the only authentic likeness of him known to exist. Neither would it be inferred from that memorial that he could have been correctly represented as a starveling, but here allowance must be made for Falstaff's imagery having been in a great measure dependent upon his relative estimate of the standard of personal expanse. That there was much, however, of existing personation in the dramatic character and sur-

roundings of the Gloucestershire justice that would have been readily interpreted by the Stratford audience is unquestionable. Although our supplies of information on this point are very defective, there are still contemporary records which tell us of the special interest taken by Sir Thomas in the details of archery, of the hospitality that was the order of his mansion, of his familiarity with recruits and the muster-roll, of the antiquity of his family, and, above all, of that appreciation of "friends at court" through whose influence he contrived to bask in the divergent sunshines of Mary and Elizabeth. Nor is there the least reason for suspecting that his violent Protestantism, so convenient in the latter reign, was in any way connected with an asceticism that would have decried the stage or excluded a festive evening with a brother magistrate. We know, on the contrary, that he was the patron of a company of itinerant actors, and that he had an intelligent estimate of the virtues of sack. Much, indeed, has been said of his dislike to the Shakespeares on religious grounds, but there is really nothing to warrant such an assumption beyond the bare and inadequate fact that he served on a commission under which the poet's father was named in a list of suspected recusants.

Two plays, the titles of which have not been recorded, were acted by Shakespeare's company in the early part of the year 1598, the poet being then in London. It is certain, however, that his thoughts were not at this time absorbed by literature or the stage. So far from this being the case there are good reasons for concluding that they were largely occupied with matters relating to pecuniary affairs, and to the progress of his influence at Stratford-on-Avon. He was then considering the advisa-

bility of purchasing an "odd yard land or other" in the neighborhood, and this circumstance, indicating the possession of redundant means, becoming known, his friend, Richard Quiney, who was in the metropolis, was strongly urged both in English and Latin to suggest to him the policy of trying to obtain one of the valuable tithe-leases, and to name, among other inducements,—"by the friends he can make therefore, we think it a fair mark for him to shoot at;—it obtained would advance him in deed and would do us much good," 'letter' of Abraham Sturley dated from Stratford-on-Avon, January 24, 1598. These expressions indicate that Shakespeare's desire to establish a good position for himself in his native town was well known to his provincial friends.

When Shakespeare was meditating the purchase of the "odd yard," that is to say, most likely rather more than forty acres of land or thereabouts, he appears to have had a predilection in favor of Shottery, a hamlet in the immediate neighborhood of Stratford. It was in this village that he is generally believed, but on somewhat inconclusive grounds, to have met with his future wife, and hence has arisen the inevitable surmise that the inclination in favor of the particular investment emanated from recollections of the days of courtship. Some of those days may, indeed, have been passed in that locality, but whether this be the case or no, it is obvious, from the terms in which the contemplated acquisition is introduced that he was desirous of becoming one of the proprietors of its open fields. These latter, which were very extensive, comprising altogether about sixteen hundred acres, have long been enclosed, while there is nothing on their site, and little in their vicinity, to recall

the Shottery that was now in the poet's thoughts. Most of its numerous ancient footpaths have been suppressed; its mud-walls have disappeared; very few of its dwellings exhibit outward traces of genuine Elizabethan work, and a hideous culvert is the modern substitute for what was once a stepping-stone passage across a gurgling brook. It may be confidently stated that there is only one of its buildings that can be thought to have retained an approach to a complete preservation of its original external features, a farm-house that belonged to a family of the name of Hathaway, and one that is usually considered to be the birth-place of Shakespeare's own Anne. But although it cannot be said that "the report of her is extended more than can be thought to begin from such a cottage," the truthful biographer is compelled to admit, in my case more than reluctantly, that the balance of evidence is hardly in favor of the attribution.

It was natural that the poet, having not only himself bitterly felt the want of resources not so many years previously, but seen so much inconvenience arising from a similar deficiency in his father's household, should now be determining to avoid the chance of a recurrence of the infliction. That he did not love money for its own sake, or for more than its relative advantages, may be gathered from his liberal expenditure in after life; but that he had the wisdom to make other tastes subservient to its acquisition, so long as that course was suggested by prudence, is a fact that cannot fairly be questioned. However repugnant it may be to the flowery sentiments of the æsthetic critics, no doubt can arise, in the minds of those who will listen to evidence, that when Pope asserted that—

> Shakespeare, whom you and ev'ry playhouse bill
> Style the divine, the matchless, what you will,
> For gain, not glory, wing'd his roving flight,
> And grew immortal in his own despight.

he not only expressed the traditional belief of his own day, but one which later researches have unerringly verified. With all Shakespeare's gentleness of disposition and amiable qualities, it is evident from the records that there was very little of the merely sentimental in his nature; that is to say, of such matters as a desire for posthumous fame, or the excitable sympathy which is so often recklessly appeased without thought of results. In the year now under consideration, 1598, he appears not only as an advancer of money, but also one who negotiated loans through other capitalists.

The comedy of *The Merchant of Venice*, the plot of which was either grounded on that of an older drama, or formed out of tales long familiar to the public, was represented with success in London in or before the month of July, 1598. It then had another title, being "otherwise called *The Jew of Venice*," and a bookseller named Roberts was anxious to secure the copyright, but the registrars of Stationers' Hall withheld their consent until he had obtained the sanction of the Lord Chamberlain, in other words, that of the author and his colleagues; and upwards of two years elapsed before the earliest editions of the comedy appeared. It continued for a long time to be one of the acting plays of Shakespeare's company, and, as lately as 1605, it attracted the favorable notice of James I, who was so much pleased with one performance that he ordered a repetition of it two days afterward.

One of the most interesting of the recorded events

of Shakespeare's life occurred in the present year. In September, 1598, Ben Jonson's famous comedy of *Every Man in his Humor* was produced by the Lord Chamberlain's company, and there is every probability that both writer and manager were indebted for its acceptance to the sagacity of the great dramatist, who was one of the leading actors on the occasion. "His acquaintance with Ben Jonson," observes Rowe, "began with a remarkable piece of humanity and good nature; Mr. Jonson, who was at that time altogether unknown to the world, had offered one of his plays to the players in order to have it acted, and the persons into whose hands it was put, after having turned it carelessly and superciliously over, were just upon returning it to him with an ill-natured answer that it would be of no service to their company, when Shakespeare luckily cast his eye upon it, and found something so well in it as to engage him first to read it through, and afterwards to recommend Mr. Jonson and his writings to the public." The statement that Rare Ben was then absolutely new to literature is certainly erroneous, however ignorant the Burbages or their colleagues may have been of his primitive efforts; but he was in a state of indigence, rendering the judgment on his manuscript of vital consequence, and the services of a friendly advocate of inestimable value. He had been engaged in dramatic work for Henslowe some months before the appearance of the new comedy, but about that time there seems to have been a misunderstanding between them, the latter alluding to Jonson simply as a bricklayer, not as one of his company, in his record of the unfortunate duel with Gabriel. There had been, in all probability, a theatrical disturbance resulting in the last-

named event, and in Ben's temporary secession from the Rose. Then there are the words of Jonson himself, who, unbiased by the recollection that he had been defeated in, at all events, one literary skirmish with the great dramatist, speaks of him in language that would appear hyperbolical had it not been sanctioned by a feeling of gratitude for a definite and important service,—"I loved the man and do honor his memory, on this side idolatry, as much as any." This was a personal idolatry, not one solely in reference to his works, moderately adverse criticisms upon which immediately follow the generous panegyric. It may, then, fairly be said that the evidences at our disposal favor, on the whole, the general credibility of the anecdote narrated by Rowe.

In the same month in which Shakespeare was acting in Ben Jonson's comedy,—September, 1598,—there appeared in London the *Palladis Tamia*, a work that contains more elaborate notices of the great dramatist than are elsewhere to be found in all contemporary literature. Its author was one Francis Meres, a native of Lincolnshire, who had been educated at Cambridge, but for some time past resident in the metropolis. Although his studies were mostly of a theological character, he was interested in all branches of literature, and had formed intimacies with some of its chief representatives. He had been favored with access to the unpublished writings of Drayton and Shakespeare, and had either seen a manuscript, or witnessed a representation, of Rare Ben's earliest tragedy. In the important enumeration of Shakespeare's plays given by Meres, four of them,—*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Love Labors Won*, *The Midsummer Night's Dream*, and *King John*,—are mentioned for the first time. There can

be no doubt that the first of these dramas had been written some years previously, and *Love Labors Won*, a production which is nowhere else alluded to, is one of the numerous works of that time which have long since perished, unless its graceful appellation be the original or a secondary title of some other comedy. Neither *King John* nor *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* was printed during the author's lifetime, but two editions of *The Midsummer Night's Dream* appeared in the year 1600. This last-mentioned circumstance indicates the then popularity of that exquisite but singular drama, the comic scenes of which appear to have been those specially relished by the public. One little fragment of the contemporary stage humor, displayed in the representation of this play, has been recorded. When Thisbe killed herself, she fell on the scabbard, not on the trusty sword, the interlude doubtlessly having been acted in that spirit of extreme farce which was naturally evolved from the stupidity and nervousness of the clowns.

It is in the *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, that we first hear of those remarkable productions, the *Sonnets*. "As the soul of Euphorbus," observes Meres in that quaint collection of similitudes, "was thought to live in Pythagoras, so the sweet witty soul of Ovid lives in mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakespeare; witness his *Venus and Adonis*, his *Lucrece*, his sugared *Sonnets* among his private friends," etc. These last-mentioned dainty poems were clearly not then intended for general circulation, and even transcripts of a few were obtainable with difficulty. A publisher named Jaggard who, in the following year, 1599, attempted to form a collection of new Shakesperean poems, did not manage to obtain more than two of the *Sonnets*. The words of Meres, and the insignificant result of Jag-

gard's efforts, when viewed in connection with the nature of these strange poems, lead to the inference that some of them were written in clusters, and others as separate exercises, either being contributions made by their writer to the albums of his friends, probably no two of the latter being favored with identical compositions. There was no tradition adverse to a belief in their fragmentary character in the generation immediately following the author's death, as may be gathered from the arrangement found in Benson's edition of 1640; and this concludes the little real evidence on the subject that has descended to us. It was reserved for the students of the last century, who have ascertained so much respecting Shakespeare that was unsuspected by his own friends and contemporaries, to discover that his innermost earnest thoughts, his mental conflicts, and so on, are revealed in what would then be the most powerful lyrics yet given to the world. But the victim of spiritual emotions that involve criminatory reflections does not usually protrude them voluntarily on the consideration of society; and, if the personal theory be accepted, we must concede the possibility of our national dramatist gratuitously confessing his sins and revealing those of others, proclaiming his disgrace and avowing his repentance, in poetical circulars distributed by the delinquent himself among his most intimate friends.

There are no external testimonies of any description in favor of a personal application of the *Sonnets*, while there are abundant difficulties arising from the reception of such a theory. Among the latter is one deserving of special notice, for its investigation will tend to remove the displeasing interpretation all but universally given of two of the poems, those in which reference is supposed

to be made to a bitter feeling of personal degradation allowed by Shakespeare to result from his connection with the stage. Is it conceivable that a man who encouraged a sentiment of this nature, one which must have been accompanied with a distaste and contempt for his profession, would have remained an actor years and years after any real necessity for such a course had expired? By the spring of 1602 at the latest, if not previously, he had acquired a secure and definite competence independently of his emoluments as a dramatist, and yet, eight years afterwards, in 1610, he is discovered playing in company with Burbage and Hemmings at the Blackfriars Theater. When, in addition to this voluntary long continuance on the boards, we bear in mind the vivid interest in the stage, and in the purity of the acted drama, which is exhibited in the well-known dialogue in *Hamlet*, and that the poet's last wishes included affectionate recollections of three of his fellow-players, it is difficult to believe that he could have nourished a real antipathy to his lower vocation. It is, on the contrary, to be inferred that, however greatly he may have deplored the unfortunate estimation in which the stage was held by the immense majority of his countrymen, he himself entertained a love for it that was too sincere to be repressed by contemporary disdain. If there is, among the defective records of the poet's life, one feature demanding special respect, it is the unflinching courage with which, notwithstanding his desire for social position, he braved public opinion in favor of a continued adherence to that which he felt was in itself a noble profession, and this at a time when it was not merely despised, but sur-

rounded by an aggressive fanaticism that prohibited its exercise even in his own native town.

These considerations may suffice to eliminate a personal application from the two sonnets above mentioned, and as to the remainder, if the only safe method, that of discarding all mere assumptions, be strictly followed, the clearer the ideality of most of them, and the futility of arguments resting on any other basis, will be perceived. It will be observed that all the hypotheses, which aim at a complete biographical exposition of the *Sonnets*, necessitate the acceptance of interpretations that are too subtle for dispassionate reasoners. Even in the few instances where there is a reasonable possibility that Shakespeare was thinking of living individuals, as when he refers to an unknown poetical rival or quibbles on his own Christian name, scarcely any, if any, light is thrown on his personal feelings or character. In the latter case, it is a mere assumption that the second Will is the youth of the opening series, or, at least, that position cannot be sustained without tortuous interpretations of much which is found in the interval. With respect to other suggested personal revelations, such as those which are thought to be chronicled in Shakespeare's addresses to the dark-eyed beauty of more than questionable reputation, —unless, with a criminal indifference to the risk of the scandal traveling to the ears of his family, he had desired to proclaim to his acquaintances his own infidelity and folly,—he might, perhaps, have repeated the words of the author of *Licia*, who published his own sonnets in the year 1593, and thus writes of their probable effects,—"for the matter of love, it may bee I am so

devoted to some one, into whose hands these may light by chance, that she may say, which thou nowe saiest, that surelie he is in love, which if she doe, then have I the full recompence of my labour, and the poems have dealt sufficientlie for the discharge of their owne duetie." The disguise of the ideal under the personal was then, indeed, an ordinary expedient.

In the Christmas holidays of 1598–1599, three plays, one of them in all probability having been the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, were acted by Shakespeare's company before the Queen at Whitehall, after which they do not appear to have performed at Court until the following December, an the 26th of which month they were at Richmond Palace. The poet's distinguished friend, Lord Southampton, was in London in the autumn of this year, and no doubt favored more than one theater with his attendance. In a letter dated October 11, 1599, his lordship is alluded to as spending his time "merrily in going to plays every day."

In March, 1599, the Earl of Essex departed on his ill-starred expedition to Ireland, leaving the metropolis amid the enthusiastic cheers of the inhabitants. He was then the most popular man in all England, hosts of the middle and lower classes regarding him as their chief hope for the redress of their grievances. At some time in May or June, while the suppression of the Irish was considered in his able hands a mere work of time, Shakespeare completed his play of *King Henry the Fifth*, taking the opportunity of introducing in it a graceful compliment to the Earl, in terms which indicate that the poet himself sympathized with the thousands of Londoners who fondly expected hereafter to welcome

his victorious return to England. Independently, however, of his appreciation of Essex, it was natural that the great dramatist should have taken a special interest in the course of affairs in Ireland, his great patron and friend, Lord Southampton, holding the distinguished position of General of the Horse in the Earl's army. There is no record of this drama in the year of its composition, but there is little or rather no doubt that it was produced on the diminutive boards of the Curtain Theater in the summer of 1599. It was favorably received and the character of Pistol appears to have been specially relished by the audiences. In or before the August of the following year, 1600, an unsuccessful attempt was made to obtain a license for its publication, but the only copy of it, printed in the author's lifetime, was a miserably imperfect and garbled one which was surreptitiously published about that time by Millington and Busby, and transferred by them very soon afterwards to Thomas Pavier, the latter reprinting this spurious edition in 1602 and 1608. It is curious that Pavier, who was so unscrupulous in other instances in the use of Shakespeare's name, should have refrained from placing it on the title-pages of any of those impressions. There are unequivocal indications that the edition of 1600 was fraudulently printed from a copy made up from notes taken at the theater.

Toward the close of this year, 1599, a renewed attempt was made by the poet to obtain a grant of coat-armor to his father. It was now proposed to impale the arms of Shakespeare with those of Arden, and on each occasion ridiculous statements were made respecting the claims of the two families. Both were really descended

from obscure English country yeomen, but the heralds made out that the predecessors of John Shakespeare were rewarded by the Crown for distinguished services, and that his wife's ancestors were entitled to armorial bearings. Although the poet's relatives at a later date assumed his right to the coat suggested for his father in 1596, it does not appear that either of the proposed grants was ratified by the college, and certainly nothing more is heard of the Arden impalement.

The *Sonnets*, first mentioned in the previous year, are now again brought into notice. They had evidently obtained a recognition in literary circles, but restrictive suggestions had possibly been made to the recipients, for, as previously observed, when Jaggard, in 1599, issued a tiny volume under the fanciful title of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, he was apparently not enabled to secure more than two of them. These are in the first part of the book, the second being entitled *Sonnets to Sundry Notes of Music*, but Shakespeare's name is not attached to the latter division. The publisher seems to have had few materials of any description that he could venture to insert under either title, for, in order to make something like a book with them, he adopted the very unusual course of having nearly the whole of the tract printed upon one side only of each leaf. Not keeping a shop, he entrusted the sale to Leake, who was then the owner of the copyright of *Venus and Adonis*, and who published an edition of that poem in the same year, the two little volumes no doubt being displayed together on the stall of the latter at the Greyhound in St. Paul's Churchyard. With the exception of the two sonnets above alluded to, and a few verses taken from the already published

comedy of *Love's Labor's Lost*, Jaggard's collection does not include a single line that can be positively ascribed to the pen of the great dramatist, but much that has been ascertained to have been the composition of others. The entire publication bears evident marks of an attempted fraud, and it may well be doubted if any of its untraced contents, with perhaps three exceptions, justify the announcement of the title-page. The three pieces alluded to are those on the subject of *Venus and Adonis*, and these, with the beautiful little poem called *The Lover's Complaint*, may be included in the significant *et cetera* by which Meres clearly implies that Shakespeare was the author of other poetical essays besides those which he enumerates.

It is extremely improbable that Shakespeare, in that age of small London and few publishers, could have been ignorant of the use made of his name in the first edition of the *Passionate Pilgrim*. Although he may, however, have been displeased at Jaggard's unwarrantable conduct in the matter, it appears that he took no strenuous measures to induce him to disavow or suppress the ascription in the title-page of that work. There was, it is true, no legal remedy, but there is reason for believing that, in this case, at least, a personal remonstrance would have been effective. Owing, perhaps, to the apathy exhibited by Shakespeare on this occasion, a far more remarkable operation in the same kind of knavery was perpetrated in the latter part of the following year by the publisher of the *First Part of the Life of Sir John Oldcastle*, 1600, a play mainly concerned with the romantic adventures of Lord Cobham. Although this drama is known not only to have been composed by other dramatists, but also

to have belonged to a theatrical company with whom Shakespeare had then no manner of connection, it was unblushingly announced as his work by the publisher, Thomas Pavier, a shifty bookseller, residing at the grotesque sign of the Cat and Parrots near the Royal Exchange. Two editions were issued in the same year by Pavier, the one most largely distributed being that which was assigned to the pen of the great dramatist, and another to which no writer's name is attached. As there are no means of ascertaining which of these editions is the first in order of publication, it is impossible to say with certainty whether the introduction of Shakespeare's name was an afterthought, or if it were withdrawn for a special reason, perhaps either at his instigation or at that of the real authors. It is most likely, however, that the anonymous impression was the first that was published, that the ascribed edition was the second, and that there was no cancel of the poet's name in either.

The most celebrated theater the world has ever seen was now to receive a local habitation and a name. The wooden structure belonging to the Burbages in Shoreditch had fallen into desuetude in 1598, and, very early in 1599, they had pulled it down and removed the materials to Southwark, using them in the erection of a new building which was completed towards the end of the year and opened early in 1600 under the title of the Globe. Ben Jonson's comedy of *Every Man Out of his Humour* was one of the first plays there exhibited, the author, in an epilogue written probably for the occasion, distinctly appealing to the judgment of "the happier spirits in this faire-fild Globe" (ed. 1600). Among the Shakes-

pearean dramas acted at the old Globe before its destruction by fire in 1613 may be mentioned, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Richard the Second*, *King Lear*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Pericles*, *Othello*, *Macbeth*, and *The Winter's Tale*.

Shakespeare's company acted before Queen Elizabeth at Richmond Palace on Twelfth Night and Shrove Sunday, 1600, and at Whitehall on December 26. On March 6 they were at Somerset House, and there performed, before Lord Hunsdon and some foreign ambassadors, another drama on the subject of Oldcastle. A few weeks after the last occurrence, the poet, who was then in London, brought an action against one John Clayton to recover the sum of £7, and duly succeeded in obtaining a verdict in his favor. This is one of the several evidences that distinctly prove the great dramatist to have been a man of business, thoroughly realizing the necessity of careful attention to his pecuniary affairs. Here we have the highest example of all to tell us that the financial discretion is not incompatible with the possession of literary genius.

One of the most exquisite of Shakespeare's comedies, *As You Like It*, was most likely produced in the summer of this year, and was, as might be expected, favorably received. The celebrated speech of Jacques on the seven ages of man would have had an appropriate significance when uttered below the Latin motto under the sign of the Globe Theater, but the coincidence was no doubt accidental. An attempt to publish this drama was frustrated by an appeal to the Stationers' Company, a fact which testifies to its popularity; and one of its ditties was set to music by Thomas Morley, an eminent composer of the day, who published it, with some others of a cognate

description, in his *First Booke of Ayres, or Little Short Songs*, a small thin folio volume printed at London in the same year, 1600.

According to a tradition mentioned by several writers of the last century, there was a character in *As You Like It* that was performed by the author of the comedy. "One of Shakespeare's younger brothers," says Oldys, "who lived to a good old age, even some years, as I compute, after the restoration of King Charles II, would in his younger days come to London to visit his brother Will, as he called him, and be a spectator of him as an actor in some of his own plays. This custom, as his brother's fame enlarged, and his dramatic entertainments grew the greatest support of our principal, if not of all our theaters, he continued, it seems, so long ofter his brother's death, as even to the latter end of his own life. The curiosity at this time of the most noted actors to learn something from him of his brother, etc., they justly held him in the highest veneration; and it may be well believed, as there was besides a kinsman and descendant of the family, who was then a celebrated actor among them, this opportunity made them greedily inquisitive into every little circumstance, more especially in his dramatic character, which his brother could relate of him. But he, it seems, was so stricken in years, and possibly his memory so weakened with infirmities, which might make him the easier pass for a man of weak intellects, that he could give them but little light into their inquiries; and all that could be recollected from him of his brother Will in that station was the faint, general, and almost lost ideas he had of having once seen him act a part in one of his own comedies, wherein, being to personate a decrepit old man,

he wore a long beard, and appeared so weak and drooping and unable to walk, that he was forced to be supported and carried by another person to a table, at which he was seated among some company who were eating, and one of them sung a song." This account contains several discrepancies, but there is reason for believing that it includes a glimmering of truth which is founded on an earlier tradition.

The earliest notice of the comedy of *Much Ado About Nothing* occurs in the entry in which we also first hear of *As You Like It.* Its attempted publication was stopped by an application made by the Stationers' Company on or before August 4, 1600, but, on the 23rd of the same month, Wise and Aspley succeeded in obtaining a license. It is not known if the prohibition was directed against the latter publication and afterwards removed, or whether it refers to a fraudulent attempt by some other bookseller to issue a surreptitious copy. Although *Much Ado About Nothing* was not reprinted in the author's lifetime, there is no doubt of its continued popularity.

The scene of this comedy is laid in Messina, but the satire on the constables obviously refers to those of the England of the author's own time. Aubrey, whose statements are always to be cautiously received, asserts that Shakespeare "happened to take" the "humor" of one of them "at Grendon in Bucks, which is in the road from London to Stratford, and there was living that constable about 1642." The eccentric biographer no doubt refers to Dogberry or Verges, but if the poet really had a special individual in his mind when portraying either of those characters, it is not likely that the Gren-

don constable could have been the person so honored, for unless he had attained an incredible age in the year 1642, he would have been too young for the prototype. It is far more likely that the satire was generally applicable to the English constables of the author's period, to such as were those in the neighborhood of London at the time of his arrival there, and who are so graphically thus described in a letter from Lord Burghley to Sir Francis Walsingham, written in 1586,—"as I came from London homeward in my coach, I saw at every town's end the number of ten or twelve standing with long staves, and, until I came to Enfield, I thought no other of them but that they had stayed for avoiding of the rain, or to drink at some alehouses, for so they did stand under pentices at alehouses; but at Enfield, finding a dozen in a plump when there was no rain, I bethought myself that they were appointed as watchmen for the apprehending of such as are missing; and thereupon I called some of them to me apart, and asked them wherefore they stood there, and one of them answered, to take three young men; and, demanding how they should know the persons,—Marry, said they, one of the parties hath a hooked nose; and have you, quoth I, no other mark? No, said they. Surely, sir, these watchmen stand so openly in plumps as no suspected person will come near them, and if they be no better instructed but to find three persons by one of them having a hooked nose, they may miss thereof."

It was toward the close of the present year, 1600, or at some time in the following one, that Shakespeare, for the first and only time, came forward in the avowed character of a philosophical writer. One Robert Chester

was the author of a long and tedious poem, which was issued in 1601, under the title of,—*Love's Martyr or Rosalins Complaint, allegorically shadowing the truth of Love in the constant fate of the Phœnix and Turtle,* and *to these are added some new compositions of severall moderne writers, whose names are subscribed to their severall workes, upon the first subject; viz., the Phœnix and Turtle.* The latter were stated, in a separate title page, to have been "done by the best and chiefest of our moderne writers, with their names subscribed to their particular workes; never before extant; and now first consecrated by them all generally to the love and merite of the true-noble knight, Sir John Salisburie",—the names of Shakespeare, Marston, Chapman, and Jonson being attached to the recognized pieces of this latter series. The contribution of the great dramatist is a remarkable poem in which he makes a notice of the obsequies of the phœnix and turtle-dove subservient to the delineation of spiritual union. It is generally thought that, in his own works, Chester meditated a personal allegory, but, if that be the case, there is nothing to indicate that Shakespeare participated in the design, nor even that he had endured the punishment of reading *Love's Martyr.*

The commencement of this year, 1601, is memorable for the development and suppression of the Essex conspiracy, one of the most singular events of the Queen's reign, and one in which Shakespeare's company was transiently implicated. The general history of this remarkable movement is too familiar to us all to sanction its repetition, but it is not so generally known that the Earl's friends, in their anxiety to seize every opportunity of influencing public opinion in favor of their schemes,

negotiated with the Lord Chamberlain's Servants for the representation at the Globe Theater of a drama that evinced a political significance in its treatment of the deposition of Richard II. The conspirators had selected as the one most suitable for their design a play that had been already exhibited on the stage, but, in a discussion on the subject with a few of the actors, it was strongly urged by the latter that the composition in question had so out-grown its popularity that a serious loss on its revival would inevitably accrue; and, under these circumstances, it was arranged that forty shillings should be paid to the company in augmentation of their receipts on the occasion. The interview at which this compromise was effected took place on Friday, February 6, a "play of the deposing and killing of King Richard," one which also dealt, it would appear, with a portion of the reign of his successor, being represented at the Globe on the afternoon of the following day; but none of the persons engaged in these transactions had then the remotest idea that the latter were to be immediately followed by the premature outbreak of the insurrection.

The rapidity, indeed, with which events now moved have most likely hidden from us forever the contemporary light in which the proceedings at the Globe were viewed; but that the public exhibition at this juncture of the history of the deposition of Richard was an unwonted bold step on the part of the company cannot admit of a question. Some of its members, at all events, and most probably all, must have been aware of the Queen's preternatural sensitiveness in everything that related to that history; so that it is difficult to avoid the impression that the leaders of the

theater shared in the all but universal desire of the community for the restoration of Essex to power. It is true that Shakespeare's friend and colleague, Augustine Phillipps, in an affidavit sworn before three of the judges eleven days afterwards, assigns the initiative of the pecuniary offer to the conspirators, but that offer of forty shillings, if viewed on either side as a bribe, was certainly too moderate an amount to have overcome the scruples of unwilling agents in so considerable a risk, and too much reliance should not be placed upon the terms of a document that may have been signed under conditions that admitted of serious peril to the witness and his friends. Now that the game was irretrievably lost, and the power of a despotic government again supreme, it is most likely that Phillipps dexterously said as little about the affair as he dared, and yet just enough to save himself and the other actors at the Globe from being, to use an expressive phrase of the time, "wrecked on the Essex coast." That they altogether escaped this calamity may be gathered from the fact that they performed before the Queen at Richmond Palace on Shrove Tuesday, February 24, the very evening before the lamented death of Essex; but it should be borne in mind that the selection of that movable feast-day for the performance was merely owing to the following of a long-established custom, not the result of a special order; and Elizabeth, now that the dangers to which she had been exposed were over, had too much wisdom, whatever she may have known or thought respecting their doings on the seventh, to make an impolitic display of superfluous animosities. Least of all is it probable that she would have been inclined, excepting in a case of dire emergency,

to have visited her displeasure upon the humble ministers of one of her favorite amusements, persons, moreover, who were then regarded in about the same light with jugglers and buffoons. As to her appearance at a theatrical representation the night before the execution, that was not more unseemly than her amusing herself by playing on the virginals the following morning, all this outward heartlessness emanating from a determination to assume before the court a demeanor of indifference to the cruel destiny of her quondam favorite.

That the poet was intimately acquainted, so far at least as the extreme social distinctions of the age permitted, with some of the leading members of the conspiracy, may be fairly assumed. It is all but impossible that he should not have been well-known to the readily-accessible Essex, —the object of the graceful compliment in the last act of *King Henry the Fifth*,—one who was not only distinguished by his widely extended impartial and generous patronage of literature and its votaries, but the bosom friend of Shakespeare's own Mæcenas. Then there were the Earl of Rutland, the frequent companion of the latter at the public theaters, and Sir Charles Percy, who, only a few weeks before the performance at the Globe, had shown how deeply he had been impressed by the humor of the *Second Part of Henry the Fourth*. But there is no evidence that tends to associate the great dramatist with any kind of participation in the furtherance of the objects of the conspirators beyond, of course, the natural inference that he shared with his colleagues the responsibility of their theatrical proceedings on February 7.

Apart from all this, even if it were thought possible that Shakespeare could have been altogether ignorant of

the treasonable designs of Essex and Southampton, there can be no doubt that his obligations to and relations with the latter, irrespective of other considerations, made him regard the memorable events of the following day,—in whatever way they may have come to his knowledge, either partially as an eye-witness or otherwise,—with feelings of the deepest anxiety and personal interest. The history of that Sunday thus becomes in a manner a portion of his own biography.

The poet's father,—Mr. Johannes Shakspeare, as he is called in the register,—was buried at Stratford-on-Avon on September 8, 1601; having no doubt expired a few days previously at his residence in Henley Street, which is noticed so recently as 1597 as being then in his occupation. He is mentioned as having been concerned with others in the former year in the discussion of matters respecting an action brought by Sir Edward Greville against the town, so there are no reasons for believing that his latest years were accompanied by decrepitude. In all probability the old man died intestate, and the great dramatist appears to have succeeded, as his eldest son and heir-at-law, to the ownership of the freehold tenements in Henley Street. It is not likely that the widow acquired more than her right to dower in that property but there can be no hesitation in assuming that such a claim would have been merged in a liberal allowance from her son.

Twelfth Night, the perfection of English comedy and the most fascinating drama in the language, was produced in the season of 1601–2, most probably on January 5. There is preserved a curious notice of its performance in the following month before the benchers of the Middle

Temple in their beautiful hall, nearly the only building now remaining in London in which it is known that any of Shakespeare's dramas were represented during the author's lifetime. The record of this interesting occurrence is embedded in the minutely written contemporary diary of one John Manningham, a student at that inn of court, who appears to have been specially impressed with the character of Malvolio. "A good practice in it," he observes, "to make the steward believe his lady widow was in love with him, by counterfeiting a letter as from his lady in general terms, telling him what she liked best in him, and prescribing his gesture in smiling, his apparel, etc., and then, when he came to practice, making him believe they took him to be mad." This representation of *Twelfth Night* took place at the Feast of the Purification, February 2, one of the two grand festival days of the lawyers, on which occasion professional actors were annually engaged at the Middle Temple, the then liberal sum of ten pounds being given to them for a single performance. There is no doubt that the comedy was performed by the Lord Chamberlain's servants, and very little that Shakespeare himself was one of the actors who were engaged. *Twelfth Night* was appreciated at an early period as one of the author's most popular creations. There is not only the testimony of Manningham in its favor, but Leonard Digges, in the verses describing this most attractive of Shakespeare's acting dramas, expressly alludes to the estimation in which the part of Malvolio was held by the frequenters of the theater.

The Queen kept her Court at Whitehall in the Christmas of 1601–1602, and, during the holidays, four plays, one of them most probably *Twelfth Night*, were exhib-

ited before her by Shakespeare's company. In the following May, the great dramatist purchased from the Combes, for the sum of £320, one hundred and seven acres of land near Stratford-on-Avon, but, owing to his absence from that town, the conveyance was delivered for his use to his brother Gilbert. It is not likely, indeed, that he visited the locality within any brief period after this transaction, for otherwise the counterpart of the indenture, which was duly engrossed in complete readiness for the purchaser's attestation, would hardly have been permitted to remain without his signature. But this was not the only legal business of the year in which the poet was interested. It appears that a flaw had been discovered in the validity of his title to New Place, the vendor's relative, Hercules Underhill, possessing some unknown kind of interest that had not been effectually barred by the terms of the conveyance. In order to meet this difficulty it was necessary for a fine to be levied through which the absolute ownership of the purchaser should be recognized by Hercules, and of so much importance was this considered that, upon the deforciant representing in June, 1602, that the state of his health prevented his undertaking a journey to London, a special commission was arranged for obtaining his acknowledgment. This important ratification was procured in Northamptonshire in the following October, Shakespeare no doubt being responsible for the considerable expenditure that must have been incurred by these transactions, which, there is reason to believe, were conducted exclusively by his own professional advisers.

The pecuniary resources of Shakespeare must now have been very considerable, for, notwithstanding the

serious expenditure incurred by this last acquisition, a few months afterwards he is recorded as the purchaser of a small copyhold estate near his country residence. On September 28, 1602, at a Court Baron of the Manor of Rowington, one Walter Getley transferred to the poet a cottage and garden which were situated in Chapel Lane opposite the lower grounds of New Place. They covered the space of a quarter of an acre, with a frontage in the lane of forty feet, and were held practically in fee simple at the annual rental of two shillings and sixpence. It appears from the roll that Shakespeare did not attend the manorial court then held at Rowington, there being a stipulation that the estate should remain in the hands of the lady of the manor until he appeared in person to complete the transaction with the usual formalities. At a later period he was admitted to the copyhold, and then he surrendered it to the use of himself for life, with a remainder to his two daughters in fee. The cottage was replaced about the year 1690 by a brick and tiled building, and no representation of the original tenement is known to be in existence. The latter, in all probability, had, like most other cottages at Stratford-on-Avon in the poet's time, a thatched roof supported by mud walls. The adjoining boundary wall that enclosed the vicarage garden on the lane side continued to be one of mud until the latter part of the eighteenth century.

In the spring of this year, 1602, the tragedy, known originally under the title of *The Revenge of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, was in course of representation by the Lord Chamberlain's players at the Globe Theater, and had then, in all probability, been recently composed.

Its popularity led to an unsuccessful attempt by Roberts, a London publisher, to include it among his dramatic issues, but it was not printed until the summer of the following year, 1603, when two booksellers, named Ling and Trundell, employed an inferior and clumsy writer to work up, in his own fashion, what scraps of the play had been furtively obtained from shorthand notes or other memoranda into the semblance of a perfect drama, which they had the audacity to publish as Shakespeare's own work. It is possible, however, that the appearance of this surreptitious edition, which contains several abnormous variations from the complete work, may have led the sharers of the theater to be less averse to the publication of their own copy. At all events, Ling in some way obtained an authentic transcript of the play in the following year, and it was "newly imprinted" by Roberts for that publisher, "enlarged to almost as much againe as it was, according to the true and perfect coppie," 1604. The appearance of subsequent editions and various early notices evince the favor in which the tragedy was held by the public in the time of its author. The hero was admirably portrayed by Burbage, and has ever since, as then, been accepted as the leading character of the greatest actor of the passing day. It is worth notice that the incident of Hamlet leaping into Ophelia's grave, now sometimes omitted, was considered in Burbage's time to be one of the most striking features of the acted tragedy; and there is a high probability that a singular little by-play drollery, enacted by the First Grave-digger, was also introduced at the Globe performances. The once popular stage-trick of that personage taking off a number of waistcoats one after the other,

previously to the serious commencement of his work, is an artifice which has only been laid aside in comparatively recent years.

In February, 1603, Roberts, one of the Shakespearean printers, attempted to obtain a license for an impression of the play of *Troilus and Cressida*, then in the course of representation by the Lord Chamberlain's servants. The subject had been dramatized by Decker and Chettle for the Lord Admiral's servants in 1599, but although the two companies may have been then, as in former years, on friendly terms, there is no probability that their copyrights were exchangeable, so that the application made by Roberts is not likely to refer to the jointly-written drama. When that printer applied for a license for the publication of the new tragedy, he had not obtained, nor is there any reason for believing that he ever succeeded in procuring, the company's sanction to his projected speculation. At all events, Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* was not printed until early in the year 1609, when two other publishers, Bonian and Walley, having surreptitiously procured a copy, ventured on its publication, and, in the hope of attracting purchasers, they had the audacity to state, in an unusual preface, that it had never been represented on the stage. They even appeared to exult in having treacherously obtained a manuscript of the tragedy, but the triumph of their artifices was of brief duration. The deceptive temptation they offered of novelty must have been immediately exposed, and a pressure was no doubt exerted upon them by the company, who probably withdrew their opposition on payment of compensation, for, by January 28, the printers had received a license from the Lord Chamberlain for the pub-

lication. The preface was then entirely canceled, and the falsity of the assertion that *Troilus and Cressida* had never been acted was conspicuously admitted by the reissue professing to appear "as it *was* acted by the King's Majesty's Servants at the Globe,"—when is not stated. The suppressed preface could hardly have been written had the drama been one of the acting plays of the season of 1608–1609, and, indeed, the whole tenor of that preamble is against the validity of such an assumption. There can be little doubt that *Troilus and Cressida* was originally produced at the Globe in the winter season of 1602–1603.

The career of the illustrious sovereign, who had so highly appreciated the dramas of our national poet, was now drawing to an end. Shakespeare's company, who had acted before her at Whitehall on December 26, 1602, were summoned to Richmond for another performance on the following Candlemas Day, February 2, 1603. The Queen was then in a very precarious state of health, and this was the last occasion on which the poet could have had the opportunity of appearing before her. Elizabeth died on March 24, but, among the numerous poetical tributes to her memory that were elicited by her decease, there was not one from the pen of Shakespeare.

The poetical apathy exhibited by the great dramatist on this occasion, although specially lamented by a contemporary writer, can easily be accounted for in more than one way; if, indeed, an explanation is needed beyond a reference to the then agitated and bewildered state of the public mind. The company to which he belonged might have been absent, as several others were at the time, on a provincial tour. Again, they were no doubt intent

on obtaining the patronage of the new sovereign, and may have fancied that too enthusiastic a display of grief for Elizabeth would have been considered inseparable from a regret for the change of dynasty. However that may be, James I arrived in London on May 7, 1603, and ten days afterwards he granted, by bill of Privy Signet, a license to Shakespeare and the other members of his company to perform in London at the Globe Theater, and, in the provinces, at town-halls or other suitable buildings. They itinerated a good deal during the next few months, records of their performances being found at Bath, Coventry, Shrewsbury, and Ipswich. It was either in this year, or early in the following one, and under this license, that the company, including the poet himself, acted at the Globe in Ben Jonson's new comedy of *Sejanus*.

The King was staying in December, 1603, at Wilton, the seat of one of Shakespeare's patron's, William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, and on the second of that month the company had the honor of performing before the distinguished party then assembled in that noble mansion. In the following Christmas holidays, 1603-1604, they were acting on several occasions at Hampton Court, the play selected for representation on the first evening of the new year being mentioned by one of the audience under the name of *Robin Goodfellow*, possibly a familiar title of *The Midsummer Night's Dream*. Their services were again invoked by royalty at Candlemas and on Shrove Sunday, on the former occasion at Hampton Court before the Florentine ambassador, and on the latter at Whitehall. At this time they were prohibited from acting in or near London, in fear that public gatherings might imperil the diminution of the pestilence,

the King making the company on that account the then very handsome present of thirty pounds.

Owing in some degree to the severe plague of 1603, and more perhaps to royal disinclination, the public entry of the King into the metropolis did not take place until nearly a year after the death of Elizabeth. It was on March 15, 1604, that James undertook his formal march from the Tower to Westminister, amid emphatic demonstrations of welcome, and passing every now and then under the most elaborate triumphal arches London had ever seen. In the royal train were the nine actors to whom the special license had been granted the previous year, including of course Shakespeare and his three friends, Burbage, Hemmings, and Condell. Each of them was presented with four yards and a half of scarlet cloth, the usual dress allowance to players belonging to the household. The poet and his colleagues were termed the King's Servants, and took rank at Court among the Grooms of the Chamber.

Shortly after this event the poet made a visit to Stratford-on-Avon. It appears, from a declaration filed in the local court, that he had sold in that town to one Philip Rogers several bushels of malt at various times between March 27 and the end of May, 1604, and that the latter did not, or could not, pay the debt thus incurred, amounting to £1. 15s. 10d. Shakespeare had sold him malt to the value of £1. 19s. 10d., and, on June 25, Rogers borrowed two shillings of the poet at Stratford, making in all £2. 1s. 10d. Six shillings of this were afterwards paid, and the action was brought to recover the balance.

In the following August the great dramatist was in London, there having been a special order, issued in that

month by desire of the King, for every member of the company to be in attendance at Somerset House. This was on the occasion of the visit of the Spanish ambassador to England, but it may be perhaps that their professional services were not required, for no notice of them has been discovered.

The tragedy of *Othello*, originally known under the title of *The Moor of Venice*, is first heard of in 1604, it having been performed by the King's players, who then included Shakespeare himself, before the Court, in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, on the evening of Hallowmas day, November 1. This drama was very popular, Leonard Digges speaking of the audiences preferring it to the labored compositions of Ben Jonson. In 1609, a stage-loving parent, one William Bishop, of Shoreditch, who had perhaps been taken with the representation of the tragedy, gave the name of Othello's perfect wife to one of his twin daughters. A performance at the Globe in the April of the following year, 1610, was honored with the presence of the German ambassador and his suite, and it was again represented at Court before Prince Charles, the Princess Elizabeth, and the Elector Palatine, in May, 1613. These scattered notices, accidentally preserved, doubtlessly out of many others that might have been recorded, are indicative of its continuance as an acting play; a result that may, without disparagement to the author, be attributed in some measure to the leading character having been assigned to the most accomplished tragic actor of the day,—Richard Burbage. The name of the first performer of Iago is not known, but there is a curious tradition, which can be traced as far back as the close of the seventeenth century, to the effect that the part was

originally undertaken by a popular comedian, and that Shakespeare adapted some of the speeches of that character to the peculiar talents of the actor.

The company are found playing at Oxford in the early part of the summer of 1604. In the Christmas holidays of the same year, on the evening of December 26, the comedy of *Measure for Measure* was performed before the Court at Whitehall, and if it were written for that special occasion, it seems probable that the lines, those in which Angelo deprecates the thronging of the multitude to royalty, were introduced out of special consideration to James I, who, as is well known, had a great dislike to encountering crowds of people. The lines in the mouth of Angelo appear to be somewhat forced, while their metrical disposition is consistent with the idea that they might have been the result of an afterthought.

Shakespeare's company performed a number of dramas before the Court early in the following year, 1605, including several of his own. About the same time a curious old play, termed *The London Prodigal*, which had been previously acted by them, was impudently submitted by Nathaniel Butter to the reading public as one of the compositions of the great dramatist. On May 4, a few days before his death, the poet's colleague, Augustine Phillips, made his will, leaving "to my fellowe, William Shakespeare, a thirty shillinges peece in goold." And in the following July, Shakespeare made the largest, and, in a monetary sense very likely the most judicious, purchase he ever completed, giving the sum of £440 for the unexpired term of the moiety of a valuable lease of the tithes of Stratford, Old Stratford, Bishopton and Welcombe.

On October 9 in the same year, 1605, Shakespeare's company, having previously traveled as far as Barnstaple, gave another performance before the Mayor and Corporation of Oxford. If the poet, as was most likely the case, was one of the actors on the occasion, he would have been lodging at the Crown Inn, a wine-tavern kept by one John Davenant, who had taken out his license in the previous year, 1604. The landlord was a highly respectable man, filling in succession the chief municipal offices, but, although of a peculiarly grave and saturnine disposition, he was, as recorded by Wood in 1692, "an admirer and lover of the plays and play-makers, especially Shakespeare, who frequented his house in his journies between Warwickshire and London." His wife is described by the same writer as "a very beautiful woman, of a good wit and conversation." Early in the following year the latter presented her husband with a son, who was christened at St. Martin's Church on March 3, 1606, receiving there the name of William. They had several other children, and their married life was one of such exceptional harmony that it elicited the unusual honor of metrical tributes. A more devoted pair the city of Oxford had never seen, and John Davenant, in his will, 1622, expressly desires that he should be "buryed in the parish of St. Martin's in Oxford as nere my wife as the place will give leave where shee lyeth."

It was the general belief in Oxford, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, that Shakespeare was William Davenant's godfather, and there is no reason for questioning the accuracy of the tradition. Anthony Wood alludes to the special regard in which the poet was held by the worthy innkeeper, while the christian name

that was selected was a new one in the family of the latter. There was also current in the same town a favorite anecdote, in which a person was warned not to speak of his godfather lest he should incur the risk of breaking the Third Commandment. This was a kind of representative story, one which could be told of any individual at the pleasure of the narrator, and it is found in the generic form in a collection of tavern pleasantries made by Taylor, the Water-Poet, in 1629. This last fact alone is sufficient to invest a personal application with the gravest doubt, and to lead to the inference that the subsequent version related of Shakespeare was altogether unauthorized. If so, there can be little doubt that with the spurious tale originated its necessary foundation, —the oft-repeated intimation that Sir William Davenant was the natural son of the great dramatist. The latter surmise is first heard of in one of the manuscripts of Aubrey, written in or before the year 1680, in which he says, after mentioning the Crown tavern,—"Mr. William Shakespeare was wont to goe into Warwickshire once a yeare, and did commonly in his journey lye at this house in Oxen, where he was exceedingly respected." He then proceeds to tell us that Sir William, considering himself equal in genius to Shakespeare, was not averse to being taken for his son, and would occasionally make these confessions in his drinking bouts with Sam Butler and other friends. The writer's language is obscure, and might have been thought to mean simply that Davenant wished to appear in the light of a son in the poetical acceptation of the term, but the reckless gossip must needs add that Sir William's mother not only "had a very light report," but was looked upon in her own day

as a perfect Thais. Sufficient is known of the family history of the Davenants, and of their social position and respectability, to enable us to be certain that this onslaught upon the lady's reputation is a scandalous mis-statement. Anthony Wood also, the conscientious Oxonian biographer, who had the free use of Aubrey's papers, eliminates every kind of insinuation against the character of either Shakespeare or Mrs. Davenant. He may have known from reliable sources that there could have been no truth in the alleged illegitimacy, and anyhow he no doubt had the independent sagacity to observe that the reception of the libel involved extravagant admissions. It would require us to believe that the guilty parties, with incredible callousness, united at the font to perpetuate their own recollection of the crime; and this in the presence of the injured husband, who must be presumed to have been then, and throughout his life, unconscious of a secret which was so insecurely kept that it furnished ample materials for future slander. Even Aubrey himself tacitly concedes that the scandal had not transpired in the poet's time, for he mentions the great respect in which the latter was held at Oxford. Then, as if to make assurance to posterity doubly sure, there is preserved at Alnwick Castle a very elaborate manuscript poem on the Oxford gossip of the time of James I, including especially everything that could be raked up against its innkeepers and taverns, and in that manuscript there is no mention either of the Crown Inn or of the Davenants.

It is, indeed, easy to perceive that we should never have heard any scandal respecting Mrs. Davenant, if she had not been noted in her own time, and for long after-

wards, for her exceptional personal attractions. Her history ought to be a consolation to ugly girls, that is to say, if the existence of such rarities as the latter be not altogether mythical. Listen to the antique words of Flecknoe, 1654, referring to Lord Exeter's observation that the world spoke kindly of none but people of the ordinary types. "There is no great danger," he writes, even of the latter escaping censure, "calumny being so universal a trade now, as every one is of it; nor is there any action so good they cannot find a bad name for, nor entail upon 't an ill intention; insomuch as one was so injurious to his mistress's beauty not long since to say,—she has more beauty than becomes the chaste."

A considerable portion of this year, 1606, was spent by the King's company in provincial travel. They were at Oxford in July, at Leicester in August, at Dover in September, and, at some unrecorded periods, at Maidstone, Saffron Walden, and Marlborough. Before the winter had set in they had returned to London, and in the Christmas holidays, on the evening of December 26, the tragedy of *King Lear*, some of the incidents of which were adopted from one or more older dramas on the same legend, was represented before King James at Whitehall, having no doubt been produced at the Globe in the summer of that year. No record of the character of its reception by the Court has been preserved, but it must have been successful at the theater for the booksellers, late in the November of the following year, made an arrangement with the company to enable them to obtain the sanction of the Master at the Revels for the publication of the tragedy, two editions of which shortly afterwards appeared, both dated in 1608. In these issues the author's

name is curiously given in one line of large type at the very commencement of each title-page, a singular and even unique testimony to the popularity of a dramatic author of the period.

The poet's eldest daughter, Susanna, then in her twenty-fifth year, was married at Stratford-on-Avon on June 5, 1607, to John Hall, M.A., a physician who afterwards rose to great provincial eminence. He was born in the year 1575, and was most probably connected with the Halls of Acton, co. Middlesex, but he was not a native of that village. In his early days, as was usual with the more highly educated youths of the time, he had traveled on the continent, and attained a proficiency in the French language. The period of his arrival at Stratford-on-Avon is unknown, but, from the absence of all notice of him in the local records previously to his marriage, it may be presumed that his settlement there had not then been of long duration. It might even have been the result of his engagement with the poet's daughter. He appears to have taken up his first Stratford abode in a road termed the Old Town, a street leading from the churchyard to the main portion of the borough. With the further exceptions that, in 1611, his name is found in a list of supporters to a highway bill, and that, in 1612, he commenced leasing from the Corporation a small piece of wooded land on the outskirts of the town, nothing whatever is known of his career during the lifetime of Shakespeare.

Shakespeare's company were playing at Oxford on September 7, 1607, and towards the close of the same year he lost his brother Edmund, who, on Thursday, December 31, was buried at Southwark, in the church of

EXTERIOR OF CHURCH AT STRATFORD-ON-AVON.

St. Saviour's, "with a forenoone knell of the great bell." It may fairly be assumed that the burial in the church, a mark of respect which was seldom paid to an actor, and which added very considerably to the expenses of the funeral, resulted from the poet's own affectionate directions; while the selection of the morning for the ceremony, then unusual at St. Saviour's, may have arisen from a wish to give some of the members of the Globe company the opportunity of attendance. Edmund Shakespeare was in the twenty-eighth year of his age at the time of his death, and is described in the register as a player. There can be little doubt that he was introduced to the stage by the great dramatist, but, from the absence of professional notice of him, it may be concluded that he did not attain to much theatrical eminence.

Elizabeth, the only child of the Halls, was born in February, 1608, an event which conferred on Shakespeare the dignity of grandfather. The poet lived to see her attain the engaging age of eight, and the fact of his entertaining a great affection for her does not require the support of probability derived from his traditionally recorded love of children. If he had not been extremely fond of the little girl, it is not likely that he would have specifically bequeathed so mere a child nearly the whole of his plate in addition to a valuable contingent interest in his pecuniary estate. It appears, from the records of some chancery proceedings, that she inherited in after life the shrewd business qualities of her grandfather, but, with this exception, nothing is known of her disposition or character.

In the spring of the year 1608, the apparently inartificial drama of *Pericles* was represented at the Globe Theater.

It seems to have been well received, and Edward Blount, a London bookseller, lost no time in obtaining the personal sanction of Sir George Buck, the Master of the Revels, for its publication, but the emoluments derived from the stage performances were probably too large for the company to incur the risk of their being diminished by the circulation of the printed drama. Blount was perhaps either too friendly or too conscientious to persist in his designs against the wishes of the actors, and it was reserved for a less respectable publisher to issue the first edition of *Pericles* early in the following year, 1609, an impression followed by another surreptitious one in 1611. As Blount, the legitimate owner of the copyright, was one of the proprietors of the first folio, it may safely be inferred that the editors of that work did not consider that the poet's share in the composition of *Pericles* was sufficiently large to entitle it to a place in their collection. This curious drama has, in fact, the appearance of being an earlier production, one to which, in its present form, Shakespeare was merely responsible for a number of re-castings and other improvements.

About the time that *Pericles* was so well received at the Globe, the tragedy of *Antony and Cleopatra* was in course of performance at the same theater, but, although successful, it did not equal the former in popularity. It was, however, sufficiently attractive for Blount to secure the consent of the Master of the Revels to its publication, and also for the company to frustrate his immediate design.

Almost simultaneously with the contemplated publication of the admirable tragedy last mentioned, an insignificant piece, of some little merit but no dramatic

power, entitled *The Yorkshire Tragedy*, was dishonestly introduced to the public as having been "written by W. Shakespeare." It was "printed by R. B. for Thomas Pavier" in 1608, the latter being a well-known unscrupulous publisher of the day, but it is of considerable interest as one of the few domestic tragedies of the kind and period that have descended to us, as well as from the circumstance of its having been performed by Shakespeare's company at the Globe Theater. When originally produced, it appears to have had the title of *All's One*, belonging to a series of four diminutive plays that were consecutively acted by the company as a single performance in lieu of a regular five-act-drama. This was a curious practice of the early stage of which there are several other examples. *The Yorkshire Tragedy*, the only one of this Globe series now preserved, was founded on a real occurrence which happened in the spring of the year 1605,—one of those exceptionally terrible murders that every now and then electrify and sadden the public. A Yorkshire squire of good family, maddened by losses resulting from a career of dissipation, having killed two of his sons, unsuccessfully attempted the destruction of his wife and her then sole remaining child. The event created a great sensation in London at the time, and it is most likely that this drama on the subject was produced at the theater shortly after the occurrence, or, at least, before the public excitement respecting it had subsided. This is probable, not merely from the haste with which it was apparently written, but from its somewhat abrupt termination indicating that it was completed before the execution of the murderer at York in August, 1605. It appears to have been the crim-

inal's professed object to blot out the family in sight of their impending ruin, intending perhaps to consummate the work by suicide, but he exhibited at the last some kind of desire to atone for his unnatural cruelty. In order to save the remnant of the family estates for the benefit of his wife and surviving child, he refused to plead to the indictment, thus practically electing to suffer the then inevitable and fearful alternative of being pressed to death.

It is not unlikely that the publisher of *The Yorkshire Tragedy* took advantage of the departure of Shakespeare from London to perpetrate his nominated fraud, for the poet's company were traveling on the southern coast about the time of its appearance. A few months later the great dramatist was destined to lose his mother, the Mary Arden of former days, who was buried at Stratford-on-Avon on September 9, 1608. He would naturally have desired, if possible, to attend the funeral, and it is nearly certain that he was at his native town in the following month. On October 16 he was the principal godfather at the baptism of the William Walker to whom, in 1616, he bequeathed "twenty shillings in gold." This child was the son of Henry Walker, a mercer and one of the aldermen of the town. It should be added that the King's Servants were playing at Coventry on the twenty-ninth of the last-named month, and that they acted in the same year upon some unknown occasion at Marlborough.

The records of Stratford exhibit the poet, in 1608 and 1609, engaged in a suit with a townsman for the recovery of a debt. In the August of the former year he commenced an action against one John Addenbroke, but it then seems to have been in abeyance for a time, the first precept for a jury in the cause being dated December 21,

1608; after which there was another delay, possibly in the hope of the matter being amicably arranged, a peremptory summons to the same jury having been issued on February 15, in the following year. A verdict was then given in favor of the poet for £6 and £1. 4s. costs, and execution went forth against the defendant; but the sergeant-at-mace returning that he was not to be found within the liberty of the borough, Shakespeare proceeded against a person of the name of Horneby, who had become bail for Addenbroke. This last process is dated on June 7, 1609, so that nearly a year elapsed during the prosecution of the suit. It must not be assumed that the great dramatist attended personally to these matters, although of course the proceedings were carried on under his instructions. The precepts, as appears from memoranda in the originals, were issued by the poet's cousin, Thomas Greene, who was then residing, under some unknown conditions, at New Place.

The spring of the year 1609 is remarkable in literary history for the appearance of one of the most singular volumes that ever issued from the press. It was entered at Stationers' Hall on May 20, and published by one Thomas Thorpe under the title of—*Shake-speares Sonnets, neuer before imprinted,*—the first two words being given in large capitals, so that they might attract their full share of public notice. This little book, a very small quarto of forty leaves, was sold at what would now be considered the trifling price of five-pence. The exact manner in which these sonnets were acquired for publication remains a mystery, but it is most probable that they were obtained from one of the poet's intimate friends who alone would be likely to have copies, not only of so many of those pieces but also one of *The Lover's Complaint.* However that

may be, Thorpe,—the well-wishing *adventurer*,— was so elated with the opportunity of entering into the speculation that he dedicated the work to the factor in the acquisition, one Mr. W. H., in language of hyperbolical gratitude, wishing him every happiness and an eternity, the latter in terms which are altogether inexplicable. The surname of the addressee, which has not been recorded, has been the subject of numerous futile conjectures; but the use of initials in the place of names, especially if they referred to private individuals, was then so extremely common that it is not necessary to assume that there was an intentional reservation.

At the time that the *Sonnets* issued from the press the author's company were itinerating in Kent, playing at Hythe on May 16 and at New Romney on the following day. They were also at Shrewsbury at some unrecorded period in the same year, a memorable one in the theatrical biography of the great dramatist, for in the following December, the eyry of children quitted the Blackfriars Theater to be replaced by Shakespeare's company. The latter then included Hemmings, Condell, Burbage, and the poet himself.

The exact period is unknown, but it was in the same year, 1609, or not very long afterwards, that Shakespeare and two other individuals either commenced or devised a law-suit bearing upon a question in which he was interested as a partial owner of the Stratford tithes. Our only information on the subject is derived from the draft of a bill of complaint, one that was penned under the following circumstances.—Nearly all the valuable possessions of the local college, including the tithes of Stratford-on-Avon, Old Stratford, Welcombe and Bishopton were granted by

Edward VI, a few days before his death in 1553, to the Corporation, but the gift was subject to the unexpired term of a lease for ninety-two years which had been executed in 1544 by the then proprietors in favor of one William Barker. The next owner of the lease, John Barker, assigned it in 1580 to Sir John Huband, but he reserved to himself a rent charge of £27. 13s. 4d., with the usual power of reëntry in case of non-payment. The above mentioned tithes were of course involved in this liability, but, when Shakespeare purchased a moiety of them in 1605, it was arranged that his share of that charge should be commuted by an annual payment of £5. An observance of this condition should have absolved the poet from further trouble in the matter, but this unfortunately was not the case. When the bill of complaint was drafted there were about forty persons who had interests under Barker's lease, and commutations of the shares of the rent-charge had only been made in two cases, that is to say, in those of the owners of the tithe-moieties. A number of the other tenants had expressed their willingness to join in an equitable arrangement, provided that it was legally carried out; but there were some who declined altogether to contribute, and hence arose the necessity of taking measures to compel them to do so, a few, including Shakespeare, having had to pay more than their due proportions to avoid the forfeitures of their several estates. The result of the legal proceedings, if any were instituted, is not known, but there are reasons for believing that the movement terminated in some way in favor of the complainants.

The annual income which Shakespeare derived from his moiety is estimated in the bill of complaint at £60, but this was not only subject to the payment of the above-named

£5, but also to that of one-half of another rent-charge, one of £34, that belonged to the Corporation of Stratford. His net income from the tithes would thus be reduced to £38, but it was necessarily of a fluctuating character, the probability, however, being that there was a tendency towards increase, especially in the latter part of his career. It is most likely that he entered into an agreement each year with a collector, whose province it would have been to relieve him of all trouble in the matter, and pay over a stipulated amount. It is not probable that he himself visited the harvest field to mark, as was then the local practice, every tenth sheaf with a dock, or that he personally attended to the destination of each of his tithe-pigs.

The next year, 1610, is nearly barren of recorded incidents, but in the early part of it Shakespeare purchased twenty acres of pasture land from the Combes, adding them to the valuable freeholds that he had obtained from those parties in 1602. After this transaction he owned no fewer than a hundred and twenty-seven acres in the common fields of Stratford and its neighborhood. His first purchase consisted entirely of arable land, but although he had the usual privilege of common of pasture that was attached to it, the new acquisition was no doubt a desirable one. The concord of the fine that was prepared on the latter occasion is dated April 13, 1610, and, as it was acknowledged before Commissioners, it may be inferred that Shakespeare was not in London at the time. His company were at Dover in July, at Oxford in August, and at Shrewsbury at some period of the year which has not been recorded.

There are an unusual number of evidences of Shake-

speare's dramatic popularity in the following year. We now first hear of his plays of *Macbeth*, *The Winter's Tale*, *Cymbeline*, and *The Tempest*. New impressions of *Titus Andronicus*, *Hamlet*, and *Pericles* also appeared in 1611, and, in the same year, a publisher named Helme issued an edition of the old play of *King John*, that which Shakespeare so marvelously re-dramatized, with the deceptive imputation of the authorship to one W. Sh., a clear proof, if any were needed, of the early commercial value of his name.

The tragedy of *Macbeth* was acted at the Globe Theater, in April, 1611, and Forman, the celebrated astrologer, has recorded a graphic account of its performance on that occasion, the only contemporary notice of it that has been discovered. The eccentric Doctor appears to have given some of the details inaccurately, but he could hardly have been mistaken in the statement that Macbeth and Banquo made their first appearance on horseback, a curious testimony to the rude endeavors of the stage-managers of the day to invest their representations with something of reality. The weird sisters were personated by men whose heads were disguised by grotesque periwigs. Forman's narrative decides a question, which has frequently been raised, as to whether the Ghost of Banquo should appear, or only be imagined, by Macbeth. There is no doubt that the Ghost was personally introduced on the early stage as well as long afterwards, when the tragedy was revived by Davenant; but the audiences of the seventeenth century were indoctrinated with the common belief that spirits were generally visible only to those connected with their object or mission, so in this play, as in some others of the period, an artificial

stimulus to credulity in that direction was unnecessary. It is a singular circumstance that, in Davenant's time, Banquo and his Ghost were performed by different actors, a practice not impossibly derived from that of former times.

A performance of the comedy of *The Winter's Tale*, the name of which is probably owing to its having been originally produced in the winter season, was witnessed by Dr. Forman at the Globe Theater on May 15, 1611. It was also the play chosen for representation before the Court on November 15 in the same year. Although it is extremely unlikely that Camillo's speech respecting "anointed Kings" influenced the selection of the comedy, there can hardly be a doubt that a sentiment so appropriate to the anniversary celebrated on that day was favorably received by a Whitehall audience. *The Winter's Tale* was also performed in the year 1613 before Prince Charles, the Lady Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine, some time before the close of the month of April, at which period the two last of the above-named personages left England for the Continent.

Among the performances of other dramas witnessed by Dr. Forman was one of the tragedy of *Cymbeline*, and although he does not record either the date or the locality, there can be little hesitation in referring the incident to the spring of the year 1611; at all events, to a period not later than the following September, when that marvelously eccentric astrologer died suddenly in a boat while passing over the Thames from Southwark to Puddle Dock. It may be suspected that the poet was in London at the time of that occurrence, for in a subscription list originated at Stratford-on-Avon on the eleventh of that month, his name is the only one found on the margin, as if it were a later

insertion in a folio page of donors "towardes the charge of prosecutyng the bill in Parliament for the better repayre of the highe waies." The moneys were raised in anticipation of a Parliament which was then expected to be summoned, but which did not meet until long afterwards. The list includes the names of all the leading inhabitants of the town, so that it is impossible to say whether the poet took a special interest in the proposed design, or if he allowed his name to appear merely out of consideration for its promoters.

The comedy of *The Tempest*, having most likely been produced at one of the Shakespearean theaters in 1611, was represented before King James and the Court at Whitehall on the evening of November 1 in that year, the incidental music having been composed by Robert Johnson, one of the Royal "musicians for the lutes." The record of the performance includes the earliest notice of that drama which has yet been discovered. It was also acted with success at the Blackfriars Theater, and it was one of the plays selected early in the year 1613 for the entertainment of Prince Charles, the Lady Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine.

The four years and a half that intervened between the performance of *The Tempest* in 1611 and the author's death, could not have been one of his periods of great literary activity. So many of his plays are known to have been in existence at the former date, it follows that there are only six which could by any possibility have been written after that time, and it is not likely that the whole of those belong to so late an era. These facts lead irresistibly to the conclusion that the poet abandoned literary occupation a considerable period before his decease, and, in

all probability, when he disposed of his theatrical property. So long as he continued to be a shareholder in the Globe Theater, it was incumbent upon him to supply the company with two plays annually. It may therefore, be reasonably inferred that he parted with his shares within two or three years after the performance above alluded to, the drama of *King Henry the Eighth* being, most likely, his concluding work.

Among the six plays above mentioned is the amusing comedy of *The Taming of the Shrew.* Most of the incidents of that drama, as well as those of its exquisite induction, are taken from an old farce which was written at some time before May, 1594, and published in that year under the nearly identical title of *The Taming of a Shrew.* This latter work had then been acted by the Earl of Pembroke's servants, and was probably well known to Shakespeare when he was connected with that company, or shortly afterwards, for it was one of the plays represented at the Newington Butts Theater by the Lord Admiral's and the Lord Chamberlain's men in the June of the same year. The period at which he wrote the new comedy is at present a matter solely of conjecture; but its local allusions might induce an opinion that it was composed with a view to a contemplated representation before a provincial audience. That delicious episode, the induction, presents us with a fragment of the rural life with which Shakespeare himself must have been familiar in his native county. With such animated power is it written that we almost appear to personally witness the affray between Marian Hacket, the fat ale-wife of Wincot, and Christopher Sly, to see the nobleman on his return from the chase discovering the insensible drunkard, and to hear the strolling actors make

the offer of professional services that was requited by the cordial welcome to the buttery. Wincot is a secluded hamlet near Stratford-on-Avon, and there is an old tradition that the ale-house frequented by Sly was often resorted to by Shakespeare for the sake of diverting himself with a fool who belonged to a neighboring mill. Stephen Sly, one of the tinker's friends or relatives, was a known character at Stratford-on-Avon, and is several times mentioned in the records of that town. This fact, taken in conjunction with the references to Wilmecote and Barton-on-the-Heath, definitely proves that the scene of the induction was intended to be in the neighborhood of Stratford-on-Avon, the water-mill tradition leading to the belief that Little Wilmecote, the part of the hamlet nearest to the poet's native town, is the Wincot alluded to in the comedy. If—but the virtuous character of that interesting particle must not be overlooked—the local imagery extends to the nobleman, the play itself must be supposed to be represented at Clopton House, the only large private residence near the scene of Sly's intemperance; but if so, not until 1605, in the May of which year Sir George became Baron Carew of Clopton.

It was the general opinion in the convivial days of Shakespeare "that a quart of ale is a dish for a king." So impressed were nearly all classes of society by its attractions, it was imbibed wherever it was to be found, and there was no possible idea of degradation attached to the poet's occasional visits to the house of entertainment at Wincot. If, indeed, he had been observed in that village and to pass Mrs. Hacket's door without taking a sip of ale with the vigorous landlady, he might perhaps no longer have been enrolled among the members of good-fellowship. Such a

notion, at all events, is at variance with the proclivities recorded in the famous crab-tree anecdote, one which is of sufficient antiquity to deserve a notice among the more trivial records of Shakespearean biography. It would appear from this tradition that the poet, one summer's morning, set out from his native town for a walk over Bardon Hill to the village of Bidford, six miles distant, a place said to have been then noted for its revelry. When he had nearly reached his destination, he happened to meet with a shepherd, and jocosely enquired of him if the Bidford Drinkers were at home. The rustic, perfectly equal to the occasion, replied that the Drinkers were absent, but that he would easily find the Sippers, and that the latter might perhaps be sufficiently jolly to meet his expectations. The anticipations of the shepherd were fully realized, and Shakespeare, in bending his way homeward late in the evening, found an acceptable interval of rest under the branches of a crab-tree which was situated about a mile from Bidford. There is no great wonder and no special offense to record, when it is added that he was overtaken by drowsiness, and that he did not renew the course of his journey until early in the following morning. The whole story, indeed, when viewed strictly with reference to the habits and opinions of those days, presents no features that suggest disgrace to the principal actor, or imposition on the part of the narrator. With our ancestors the ludicrous aspect of intoxication completely neutralized, or rather, to speak more correctly, excluded the thought of attendant discredit. The affair would have been merely regarded in the light of an unusually good joke, and that there is, at least, some foundation for the tale may be gathered from the fact that, as early

as the year 1762, the tree, then known as Shakespeare's Canopy, was regarded at Stratford-on-Avon as an object of great interest.

In the year 1612 the third edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim* made its appearance, the publisher seeking to attract a special class of buyers by describing it as consisting of "Certain Amorous Sonnets between Venus and Adonis." These were announced as the work of Shakespeare, but it is also stated that to them were "newly added two love-epistles, the first from Paris to Helen, and Helen's answer back again to Paris;" the name of the author of the last two poems not being mentioned. The wording of the title might imply that the latter were also the compositions of the great dramatist, but they were in fact written by Thomas Heywood, and had been impudently taken from his *Troia Britanica*, a large poetical work that had appeared three years previously, 1609. "Here, likewise," observes that writer, speaking in 1612 of the last-named production, "I must necessarily insert a manifest injury done me in that worke by taking the two Epistles of Paris to Helen, and Helen to Paris, and printing them in a lesse volume under the name of another, which may put the world in opinion I might steale them from him; and hee, to doe himselfe right, hath since published them in his owne name; but as I must acknowledge my lines not worthy his patronage under whom he hath publisht them, so the author I know much offended with M. Jaggard that (altogether unknowne to him) presumed to make so bold with his name."

Although Heywood thus ingeniously endeavors to make it appear that his chief objection to the piracy arose from a desire to shield himself against a charge

of plagiarism, it is apparent that he was highly incensed at the liberty that had been taken; and a new title-page to *The Passionate Pilgrim* of 1612, from which Shakespeare's name was withdrawn, was afterwards issued. There can be little doubt that this step was taken mainly in consequence of the remonstrances of Heywood addressed to Shakespeare, who may certainly have been displeased at Jaggard's proceedings, but as clearly required pressure to induce him to act in the matter. If the publisher would now so readily listen to Shakespeare's wishes, it is difficult to believe that he would not have been equally compliant had he been expostulated with either at the first appearance of the work in 1599, or at any period during the following twelve years of its circulation. It is pleasing to notice that Heywood, in observing that the poet was ignorant of Jaggard's intentions, entirely acquits the former of any blame in the matter.

In the course of this year the King's Servants are found playing at Folkestone, New Romney, and Shrewsbury; and early in the following one, 1613, the great dramatist lost his younger, most probably now his only surviving, brother, Richard, who was buried at Stratford-on-Avon on Thursday, February 4. He was in the thirty-ninth year of his age. Beyond the records of his baptism and funeral no biographical particulars respecting him have been discovered; but it may be suspected that all the poet's brothers were at times more or less dependent on his purse or influence. When the parish-clerk told Dowdall, in 1693, that Shakespeare "was the best of his family," he used a provincial expression which implied not only that its other members of the same sex were less amiable

than himself, but that they were not held in very favorable estimation.

There is no record of the exact period at which the great dramatist retired from the stage in favor of a retreat at New Place, but it is not likely that he made the latter a permanent residence until 1613 at the earliest. Had this step been taken previously, it is improbable that he would, in the March of that year, have been anxious to secure possession of an estate in London, a property consisting of a house and a yard, the lower part of the former having been then and for long previously a haberdasher's shop. The premises referred to, situated within one or two hundred yards to the east of the Blackfriars Theater, were bought by the poet for the sum of £140, and for some reason or other, he was so intent on its acquisition that he permitted a considerable amount, £60, of the purchase-money to remain on mortgage. That reason can hardly be found in the notion that the property was merely a desirable investment, for it would appear to have been purchased at a somewhat extravagant rate, the vendor, one Henry Walker, a London musician, having paid but £100 for it in the year 1604. If intended for conversion into Shakespeare's own residence, that design was afterwards abandoned, for, at some time previously to his death, he had granted a lease of it to John Robinson, who was, oddly enough, one of the persons who had violently opposed the establishment of the neighboring theater. It does not appear that Shakespeare lived to redeem the mortgage, for the legal estate remained in the trustees until the year 1618. Among the latter was one described as John Hemyng of London,

gentleman, who signs himself Heminges, but it is not likely that he was the poet's friend and colleague of the same name.

The conveyance-deeds of this house bear the date of March 10, 1613, but in all probability they were not executed until the following day, and at the same time that the mortgage was effected. The latter transaction was completed in Shakespeare's presence on the eleventh, and that the occurrence took place in London or in the immediate neighborhood is apparent from the fact that the vendor deposited the original conveyance on the same day for enrollment in the Court of Chancery. The independent witnesses present on the occasion consisted of Atkinson, who was the Clerk of the Brewers' Company, and a person of the name of Overy. To these were joined the then usual official attestors, the scrivener who drew up the deeds and his assistant, the latter, one Henry Lawrence, having the honor of lending his seal to the great dramatist, who thus, to the disappointment of posterity, impressed the wax of both his labels with the initials H. L. instead of those of his own name.

This Blackfriars estate was the only London property that Shakespeare is known for certain to have ever owned. It consisted of a dwelling-house, the first story of which was erected partially over a gateway, and either at the side or back, included in the premises, was a diminutive enclosed plot of land. The house was situated on the west side of St. Andrew's Hill, formerly otherwise termed Puddle Hill or Puddle Dock Hill, and it was either partially on or very near the locality now and for more than two centuries known as Ireland Yard. At the bottom of the hill was Puddle Dock, a narrow creek of the

Thames which may yet be traced, with its repulsive very gradually inclined surface of mud at low water, and, at high, an admirable representative of its name. Stow, in his *Survay of London*, ed. 1603, p. 41, mentions "a water gate at Puddle Wharfe, of one Puddle that kept a wharfe on the west side thereof, and now of puddle water, by meanes of many horses watred there." It is scarcely necessary to observe that every vestige of the Shakepearean house was obliterated in the great fire of 1666. So complete was the destruction of all this quarter of London that, perhaps, the only fragment of its ancient buildings that remained to the present century is a doorway of the old church or priory of the Blackfriars, a relic which was afterwards built into the outer wall of a parish lumber-house adjoining St. Anne's burying ground.

The Globe Theater was destroyed by fire on Tuesday, June 29, 1613. The great dramatist was probably at Stratford-on-Avon at the time of this lamentable occurrence. At all events, his name is not mentioned in any of the notices of the calamity, nor is there a probability that he was the author of the new drama on the history of Henry VIII, which was then produced, the first one on the public stage in which the efforts of the dramatist were subordinated to theatrical display. It is true that some of the historical incidents in the piece that was in course of representation when the accident occurred are also introduced into Shakespeare's play, but it is not likely that there was any other resemblance between the two works. Among the actors engaged at the theater on this fatal day were Burbage, Hemmings, Condell, and one who enacted the part of the Fool, the two last being so dilatory in quitting the building that fears were en-

tertained for their safety. Up to this period, therefore, it may reasonably be inferred that the stage-fool had been introduced into every play on the subject of Henry VIII, so that when Shakespeare's pageant-drama appeared some time afterwards, the prologue is careful to inform the audience that there was to be a novel treatment of the history divested of some of the former accompaniments. This theory of a late date is in consonance with the internal evidence. The temperate introduction of lines with the hypermetrical syllable has often a pleasing effect, but during the last few years of the poet's career, their immoderate use was affected by other dramatists, and although, for the most part, Shakespeare's meter was a free offspring of the ear, owing little but its generic form to his predecessors and contemporaries, it appears certain that, in the present instance, he suffered himself to be overruled by this disagreeable innovation.

When Shakespeare's *King Henry VIII* was produced, the character of the King was undertaken by Lowin, a very accomplished actor. This fact, which was stated on the authority of an old manuscript note in a copy of the second folio preserved at Windsor Castle, is confirmed by Downes, in 1708, and by Roberts, the actor, in a tract published in 1729, the latter observing,—"I am apt to think, he (Lowin) did not rise to his perfection and most exalted state in the theater till after Burbage, tho' he play'd what we call second and third characters in his time and particularly *Henry VIII* originally; from an observation of whose acting it in his later days Sir William Davenant convey'd his instructions to Mr. Betterton." According to Downes, Betterton was instructed in the acting of the part by Davenant, "who had it from old Mr.

Lowin, that had his instructions from Mr. Shakespeare himself." There is a stage-tradition that, in Shakespeare's drama, as was also probably the case in all the old plays on the subject, the King's exclamation of *ha* was peculiarly emphasized. A story told by Fuller of a boy-actor in the part whose feeble utterance of this particle occasioned a colleague to warn him that, if he did not pronounce it more vigorously, his Parliament would never give him "a penny of money."

Shortly before the destruction of the Globe Theater in 1613, and in the same month of June, there was a malicious bit of gossip in circulation at Stratford-on-Avon respecting Mrs. Hall, Shakespeare's eldest daughter, and one Ralph Smith. The rumor was traced to an individual of the name of Lane, who was accordingly summoned to the Ecclesiastical Court to atone for the offense. The case was opened at Worcester on July 15, 1613, the poet's friend, Robert Whatcot, being the chief witness on behalf of the plaintiff. Nothing beyond the formal proceedings in the suit has been recorded, but there can be little doubt that Lane was one of those mean social basilisks who attack the personal honor of any one whom they may happen to be offended with. Slanderers, however, are notorious cowards. Neither the defendant nor his proctor ventured to appear before the court, and, in the end, the lady's character was vindicated by the excommunication of the former on July 27.

When itinerant preachers visited Stratford-on-Avon it was the fashion in those days for the Corporation to make them complimentary offerings. In the spring of the following year, 1614, one of these gentlemen arrived in town, and being either quartered at New Place,

or spending a few hours in that house, was there presented by the municipal authorities with one quart of sack and another of claret. There is no evidence that Shakespeare participated in the clerical festivity, the earliest notice of him in this year being in July, when John Combe, one of the leading inhabitants, died bequeathing him the then handsome legacy of £5. It is clear, therefore, that, at the time the will was made, there was no unfriendliness between the two parties, and that the lines commencing, "Ten-in-the-hundred," if genuine, must have been composed at a later period. The first two lines of that mock elegy are, however, undoubtedly spurious, and are omitted in the earliest discovered version of it, dated 1630, preserved at Thirlestane House. There is, moreover, no reason for believing that Combe was an usurious money-lender, ten per cent being then the legal and ordinary rate of interest. That rate was not lowered until after the death of Shakespeare.

The Globe Theater which had been rebuilt at a very large cost, had then been recently opened; and Chamberlain, writing from London on June 30, 1614, to a lady at Venice, says, "I heare much speach of this new playhouse, which is saide to be the fayrest that ever was in England."

In the autumn of the same year, 1614, there was great excitement at Stratford-on-Avon respecting an attempted enclosure of a large portion of the neighboring common-fields,—not commons, as so many biographers have inadvertently stated. The design was resisted by the Corporation, under the natural impression that, if it were realized, both the number of agricultural employees and the value of the tithes would be seriously diminished.

There is no doubt that this would have been the case, and, as might have been expected, William Combe, the squire of Welcombe, who originated the movement, encountered a determined and, in the end, a successful opposition. He spared, however, no exertions to accomplish the object, and, in many instances, if we may believe contemporary allegations, tormented the poor and coaxed the rich into an acquiescence with his views. It appears most probable that Shakespeare was one of the latter who were so influenced, and that, among perhaps other inducements, he was allured to the unpopular side by Combe's agent, one Replingham, guaranteeing him from prospective loss. However that may be, it is certain that the poet was in favor of the enclosures, for, on December 23, the Corporation addressed a letter of remonstrance to him on the subject, and another on the same day to a Mr. Manwaring. The latter, who had been practically bribed by some land arrangements at Welcombe, undertook to protect the interests of Shakespeare, so there can be no doubt that the three parties were acting in unison.

It appears that Shakespeare was in the metropolis when the Corporation decided upon the expostulary letter of December 23, 1614, and that he had arrived there on Wednesday, November 16, almost certainly, in those days of arduous travel, spending the entire interval in London. We are indebted for the knowledge of the former circumstances to the diary of Thomas Greene, the town-clerk of Stratford-on-Avon, who has recorded in that manuscript the following too brief, but still extremely curious, notices of the great dramatist in connection with the subject of the enclosures:

a.—Jovis, 17 Nov., my cosen Shakspeare comyng yesterday to towne, I went to see him how he did. He told me that they assured him they ment to inclose noe further then to Gospell Bushe, and soe upp straight (leavyng out part of the Dyngles to the Field) to the Gate in Clopton hedge, and take in Salisburyes peece; and that they mean in Aprill to survey the land, and then to gyve satisfaccion, and not before; and he and Mr. Hall say they think ther will be nothyng done at all.

b.—23 Dec. A hall. Lettres wryten, on to Mr. Maneryng, another to Mr. Shakspeare, with almost all the companies handes to eyther. I alsoe wrytte of myself to my cosen Shakspear the coppyes of all our actes, and then also a not of the inconvenyences wold happen by the inclosure.

c.—9 Jan. 1614. Mr. Replyngham, 28 Octobris, article with Mr. Shakspear, and then I was putt in by T. Lucas.

d.—11 Januarii, 1614. Mr. Manyryng and his agreement for me with my cosen Shakspeare.

e.—Sept. Mr. Shakspeare tellyng J. Greene that I was not able to beare the encloseing of Welcombe.

Greene was in London at the date of the first entry, and at Stratford at that of the second. The exact day on which the fifth memorandum was written is not given, but it was certainly penned before September 5. Why the last observation should have been chronicled at all is a mystery, but the note has a mournful interest as the register of the latest recorded spoken words of the great dramatist. They were uttered in the autumn of the year 1615, when the end was very near at hand.

Had it not been for its untimely termination, the concluding period of Shakespeare's life would have been regarded with unmixed pleasure. It "was spent," observes Rowe, "as all men of good sense will wish theirs may be, in ease, retirement, and conversation of his friends." The latter were not restricted to his provincial associates, for he retained his literary intimacies until the end; while it is clear, from what is above recorded, that his retirement to Stratford did not exclude an occasional visit to the

metropolis. He had, moreover, the practical wisdom to be contented with the fortune his incessant labors had secured. He had gathered, writes his first real biographer, "an estate equal to his occasion, and, in that, *to his wish*," language which suggests a traditional belief that the days of accumulation had passed. In other words, he was one of the few who knew when to commence the enjoyment of acquired wealth, avoiding the too common error of desiring more when in full possession of whatever there is in the ability of money to contribute to happiness.

It is not likely that the poet, with his systematic forethought, had hitherto neglected to provide for the ultimate devolution of his estates, but, as usual, it is only the latest will that has been preserved. This important record was prepared in January, 1616, either by or under the directions of Francis Collins, a solicitor then residing at Warwick, and it appears, from the date given to the superscription and from some of the erasures in the manuscript itself, that it was a corrected draft ready for an engrossment that was to have been signed by the testator on Thursday, the twenty-fifth of that month. For some unknown reason, but most probably owing to circumstances relating to Judith's matrimonial engagement, the appointment for that day was postponed, at Shakespeare's request, in anticipation of further instructions, and before Collins had ordered a fair copy to be made. The draft, therefore, remained in his custody, his client being then "in perfect health," and taking no doubt a lively interest in all that concerned his daughter's marriage. Under such conditions a few weeks easily pass away unheeded, so that, when he was unexpectedly seized with a dangerous fever in March, it is not very surprising that the business of

the will should be found to have been neglected. Hence it was that his lawyer was hurriedly summoned from Warwick, that it was not considered advisable to wait for the preparation of a regular transcript, and that the papers were signed after a few more alterations had been hastily effected. An unusual number of witnesses were called in to secure the validity of the informally written document, its draftsman, according to the almost invariable custom at that time, being the first to sign.

The corrected draft of the will was so hastily revised at Shakespeare's bedside, that even the alteration of the day of the month was overlooked. It is probable that the melancholy gathering at New Place happened somewhat later than March 25, the fourth week after a serious attack of fever being generally the most fatal period. We may at all events safely assume that, if death resulted from such a cause on April 23, the seizure could not have occurred much before the end of the preceding month. It is satisfactory to know that the invalid's mind was as yet unclouded, several of the interlineations that were added on the occasion having obviously emanated from himself. And it is not necessary to follow the general opinion that the signatures betray the tremulous hand of illness, although portions of them may indicate that they were written from an inconvenient position. It may be observed that the words, *by me*, which, the autographs excepted, are the only ones in the poet's handwriting known to exist, appear to have been penned with ordinary firmness.

The first interlineation, that which refers to Judith, was apparently the result of her marriage, an event considered as a probability on January 25, and shortly afterwards, that is to say in less than three weeks, definitely arranged.

That the poet, as is so often assumed, was ignorant, in January, of an attachment which resulted in a marriage in February, is altogether incredible. It is especially so when it is recollected that the Quiney and Shakespeare families were at least on visiting terms, and all residing in a small country town, where the rudiment of every love-affair must have been immediately enrolled among the desirable ingredients of the gossips' caldron. But there is evidence in the will itself that Shakespeare not only contemplated Judith's marriage, but was extremely anxious for her husband to settle on her an estate in land equivalent in value to the bequest of £150. He makes the failure of that settlement an absolute bar to the husband's life or other personal interest in the money, rigidly securing the integrity of the capital against the possibility of the condition being evaded so long as Judith or any of her issue were living. The singular limitation of the three years from the date of the will, not from that of the testator's decease, may perhaps be explained by the possibility of Thomas Quiney having a landed reversion accruing to him at the end of that period, such as a bequest contingent on his reaching the age of thirty. However that may be, it seems certain that the interlineated words, *in discharge of her marriage porcion*, must have reference to an engagement on the part of Shakespeare, one entered into after the will was first drawn up and before that paragraph was inserted, to give Judith the sum of £100 on the occasion of her marriage with Thomas Quiney. That event took place in their native town on Saturday, February 10, 1616. There was some reason for accelerating the nuptials, for they were married without a license, an irregularity for which, a few weeks afterwards, they were fined and threatened

with excommunication by the ecclesiastical court at Worcester. No evidence, however, has been discovered to warrant the frequent suggestion that the poet disapproved of the alliance. So far as is known, there was nothing in the bridegroom's position or then character to authorize a parent's opposition, nor have good reasons been adduced for the suspicion that there was ever any unpleasantness between the married Quineys and their Shakespeare connections. Their first-born son was christened after the great dramatist, and they remained on good terms with the Halls. Judith, the first and one of the most prominent legatees named in the will, was a tenant-for-life in remainder under the provisions of that document, so there is not the least reason for suspecting that the partiality therein exhibited to the testator's eldest daughter was otherwise than one elicited by aristocratic tendencies. It is not likely that it was viewed in any other light by the younger sister, who received what were for those days exceedingly liberal pecuniary legacies, while the special gift to her of "my broad silver gilt bole" is an unmistakable testimony of affection. Shakespeare, in devising his real estates to one child, followed the example of his maternal grandfather and the general custom of landed proprietors. He evidently desired that their undivided ownership should continue in the family, but that he had no other motive may be inferred from the absence of conditions for the perpetuation of his own name.

Following the bequests to the Quineys are those to the poet's sister Joan, then in her forty-seventh year, and five pounds a-piece to his nephews, her three children, lads of the respective ages of sixteen, eleven, and eight. To this lady, who became a widow very shortly before his own

decease, he leaves, besides a contingent reversionary interest, his wearing apparel, twenty pounds in money, and a life-interest in the Henley Street property, the last being subject to the manorial rent of twelve-pence. This limitation of real estate to Mrs. Hart, the anxiety displayed to secure the integrity of the little Rowington copyhold, and the subsequent devises to his eldest daughter, exhibit very clearly his determination to place under legal settlement every foot of land that he possessed. With this object in view, he settles his estates in tail male, with the usual remainders over, all of which, however, so far as the predominant intention was concerned, turned out to be merely exponents of the vanity of human wishes. Before half a century had elapsed, all possibility of the continuance of the family entail had been dispelled.

The most celebrated interlineation is that in which Shakespeare leaves his widow his "second-best bed with the furniture," the first-best being that generally reserved for visitors, and one which may possibly have descended as a family heir-loom, becoming in that way the undevisable property of his eldest daughter. Bedsteads were sometimes of elaborate workmanship, and gifts of them are often to be met with in ancient wills. The notion of indifference to his wife, so frequently deduced from the above-mentioned entry, cannot be sustained on that account. So far from being considered of trifling import, beds were even sometimes selected as portions of compensation for dower; and bequests of personal articles of the most insignificant description were never formerly held in any light but that of marks of affection. Among the smaller legacies of former days may be enumerated kettles, chairs, gowns, hats, pewter cups, feather bolsters, and cullenders.

In the year 1642 one John Shakespeare of Budbrook, near Warwick, considered it a sufficient mark of respect to his father-in-law to leave him "his best boots."

The expression "second-best" has, however, been so repeatedly and so seriously canvassed to the testator's prejudice, it is important to produce evidence of its strictly inoffensive character. Such evidence is to be found in instances of its testamentary use in cases where an approach to a disparaging significance could not have been entertained. Thus the younger Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote, in a will made in the year 1600, bequeathed to his son Richard "my second-best horse and furnyture"; and among the legacies given by Bartholomew Hathaway to his son Edmund, in 1621, is "my second brass pott." But there is another example that is conclusive in itself, without other testimony, of the position which is here advocated. It is in the will, dated in April, 1610, of one John Harris, a well-to-do notary of Lincoln, who, while leaving his wife a freehold estate and other property, also bequeaths to her "the standing bedstead in the litle chaumber, *with the second-best featherbed I have, with a whole furniture therto belonging*, and allso a trundle-bedsted with a featherbed, and the furniture therto belonging, and six payer of sheetes, three payer of the better sorte and three payer of the meaner sorte." This extremely interesting parallel disposes of the most plausible reason that has ever been given for the notion that there was at one time some kind of estrangement between Shakespeare and his Anne. Let us be permitted to add that the opportunity which has thus presented itself of refuting such aspersion is more than satisfactory,—it is a consolation; for there are few surer tests of the want either of a man's real amiability or

of his moral conduct than his incompetence, excepting in very special cases, to remain on affectionate terms with the partner of his choice. And it is altogther impossible that there could have been an exculpatory special case in the present instance.

The conjugal history of Shakespeare would not have been so tarnished had more regard been given to contemporary practices. It has generally been considered that the terms of the marriage-bond favor a suspicion of haste and irregularity, but it will be seen on examination that they are merely copies of the ordinary forms in use at Worcester. We should not inspect these matters through the glasses of modern life. For the gift of a bed let us substitute that of one of its present correlatives, a valuable diamond-ring for example, and we should then instinctively feel not only that the gift was one of affection, but that its isolation was most probably due to the circumstance of a special provision of livelihood for her being unnecessary. This was undoubtedly the case in the present instance. The interests of the survivor were nearly always duly considered in the voluntary settlements formerly so often made between husband and wife, but even if there had been no such arrangements in this case, the latter would have been well provided for by free-bench in the Rowington copyhold, and by dower on the rest of the property.

It is curious that the only real ground for a belief in any kind of estrangement between them should not hitherto have been noticed, but something to favor that impression may be fancied to be visible in Shakespeare's neglect to give his widow a life-interest either in their own residence at New Place or in its furniture. However liberally she may

have been provided for, that circumstance would hardly reconcile us to the somewhat ungracious divorce of a wife from the control of her own household. It is clear that there must have been some valid reason for this arrangement, for the grant of such an interest would not have affected the testator's evident desire to perpetuate a family estate, and there appears to be no other obvious design with which a limited gift of the mansion could have interfered. Perhaps the only theory that would be consistent with the terms of the will, and with the deep affection which she is traditionally recorded to have entertained for him to the end of her life, is the possibility of her having been afflicted with some chronic infirmity of a nature that precluded all hope of recovery. In such a case, to relieve her from household anxieties and select a comfortable apartment at New Place, where she would be under the care of an affectionate daughter and an experienced physician, would have been the wisest and kindest measure that could have been adopted.

It has been observed that a man's character is more fully revealed in a will than in any other less solemn document, and the experiences of most people will tend to favor the impression that nothing is so likely to be a really faithful record of natural impulses. Dismissing, as unworthy of consideration, the possibility of there having been an intentional neglect of his wife, it is pleasing to notice in Shakespeare's indications of the designer having been a conscientious and kind-hearted man, and one who was devoid of any sort of affectation. Independently of the bequests that amply provided for his children and sister, there are found in it a very unusual number of legacies to personal friends, and if some of its omissions, such as those of reference to

the Hathaways, appear to be mysterious, it must be recollected that we are entirely unacquainted with family arrangements, the knowledge of some of which might explain them all. It has, moreover, been objected that "the will contains less of sentiment than might be wished," that is to say, it may be presumed, by those who fancy that the great dramatist must have been, by virtue of his art, of an æsthetic and sentimental temperament. When Mr. West of Alscot was the first, in 1747, to exhibit a biographical interest in this relic, the Rev. Joseph Greene, master of the grammar-school of Stratford-on-Avon, who made a transcript for him, was also disappointed with its contents, and could not help observing that it was "absolutely void of the least particle of that spirit which animated our great poet." It might be thought from this impeachment that the worthy preceptor expected to find it written in blank-verse.

The preponderance of Shakespeare's domestic over his literary sympathies is strikingly exhibited in this final record. Not only is there no mention of Drayton, Ben Jonson, or any of his other literary friends, but an entire absence of reference to his own compositions. When these facts are considered adjunctively with his want of vigilance in not having previously secured authorized publications of any one of his dramas, and with other episodes of his life, it is difficult to resist the conviction that he was indifferent to the posthumous fate of his own writings. The editors of the first folio speak, indeed, in a tone of regret at his death having rendered a personal edition an impossibility; but they merely allude to this as a matter of fact or destiny, and as a reason for the devolution of the task upon themselves. They nowhere say, as they might naturally have done had it been the case, that the poet

himself had meditated such an undertaking, or even that the slightest preparations for it had been made during the years of his retirement. They distinctly assure us, however, that Shakespeare was in the habit of furnishing them with the autograph manuscripts of his plays, so that, if he had retained transcripts of them for his own ultimate use, or had afterwards collected them, it is reasonable to assume that they would have used his materials and not been so careful to mention that they themselves were the only gatherers. It may, indeed, be safely averred that the leading facts in the case, especially the apathy exhibited by the poet in his days of leisure, all tend to the persuasion that the composition of his immortal dramas was mainly stimulated by pecuniary results that were desired for the realization of social and domestic advantages. It has been frequently observed that, if this view be accepted, it is at the expense of investing him with a mean and sordid disposition. Such a conclusion may well be questioned. Literary ambition confers no moral grace, while its possession, as it might in Shakespeare's case, too often jeopardizes the attainment of independence as well as the paramount claims of family and kindred. That a solicitude in these latter directions should have predominated over vanity is a fact that should enhance our appreciation of his personal character, however it may affect the direct gratitude of posterity for the infinite pleasure and instruction derived from his writings.

One more section of the poet's will has yet to be considered, that solemn one which has been so frequently held to express the limits of his faith; but the terms in which the soul was devised were almost invariably those that were thought to reflect the doctrine of the prevailing religion,

so that the opening clause is no more a declaration that he was a Protestant than is the bequest by his maternal grandfather, Robert Arden, of "my soul to Almighty God, and to our blessed Lady, Saint Mary, and to all the holy company of Heaven," a proof in itself that the last-named testator was a Catholic. Neither can it be determined that Shakespeare was one or the other from what is fancied to be the internal evidence on the subject afforded by his writings, for this has been the theme of innumerable essays with the result that the advocates for his Protestantism and those for his Catholicism are as nearly as may be on a level in respect to the validity of their inferences. Those who endeavor to ascertain a dramatist's own religious sentiments from the utterances of his characters,—each of whom should be to himself religiously true at the due moments of religious expression,—or from the variations in his mode of treating materials that had been dramatically fashioned by his predecessors, can only be successful amid the works of less impartial artists. With respect to allusions to facts that are dependent upon knowledge and become in that way a species of evidence, there is only one, the reference to evening-mass, which is of practical value in the enquiry; but this, assuming it to be as hopelessly incorrect as is generally represented, is either a casual oversight or due to the very little opportunity that the author could have had for becoming familiar with Catholic practice. And if the merciless rigor with which the Catholic ministrations were suppressed is fairly borne in mind, no heed will be given to arguments based on the resort of the Shakespeares to those of the governmental Church. The poet, moreover, was educated under the Protestant direction, or he would not have been educated at all. But there

is no doubt that John Shakespeare nourished all the while a latent attachment to the old religion, and although, like most unconverted conformists of ordinary discretion who were exposed to the inquisitorial tactics of the authorities, he may have attempted to conceal his views even from the members of his own household; yet still, however determinately he may have refrained from giving them expression, it generally happens in such cases that a wave from the religious spirit of a parent will imperceptibly reach the hearts of his children and exercise more or less influence on their perceptions. And this last presumption is an important consideration in assessing the degree of credit to be given to the earliest notice that has come down to us respecting the character of Shakespeare's own belief,—the assertion of Davies that "he died a Papist." That this was the local tradition in the latter part of the seventeenth century does not admit of rational question. If the statement had emanated from a man like Prynne, addressing fanatics whose hatred of a stage player would if possible have been intensified by the knowledge that he was a Romanist, then indeed a legitimate suspicion might have been entertained of the narrator's integrity; but here we have the testimony of a sober clergyman, who could have had no conceivable motive for deception, in what is obviously the casual note of a provincial hearsay. An element of fact in this testimony must be accepted in a biography in which the best, in this instance the only, direct evidence takes precedence over theories that are based on mere credibilities. At the same time it is anything but necessary to conclude that the great dramatist had very strong or pronounced views on theological matters. If that were the case, it is almost certain that there would have been some

other early allusion to them, and perhaps in himself less of that spirit of toleration for every kind of opinion which rendered him at home with all sorts and conditions of men,—as well as less of that freedom from inflexible preconceptions that might have affected the fidelity of his dramatic work. Many will hold that there was sufficient of those qualities to betray a general indifference to creeds and rituals, and, at all events, whatever there was of Catholicism in his faith did not exclude the maintenance of affectionate relations with his ultra-protestant son-in-law. There is nothing in the will, in the list of witnesses, in the monumental inscription, in selection of friends, in the history of his professional career, in the little that tells of his personal character,—there is nothing, in short, in a single one of the contemporary evidences to indicate that he ever entered any of the circles of religious partisanship. Assuming, as we fairly may, that he had a leaning to the faith of his ancestors, we may yet be sure that the inclination was not of a nature that materially disturbed the easy-going acquiescence in the conditions of his surrounding world that added so much to the happiness of his later days. With perhaps one exception. It is surely within the bounds of possibility that he gave utterance to that inclination in the course of his last illness, and that he then declined, almost in the same breath in which he directed the kindly remembrances to his fellow-actors, the offices of a vicar who preached the abolition of the stage, and regarded the writers of plays as so many Anti-Christs. This hypothesis would fully explain the currency of the tradition recorded by Davies, and at the same time meet the other conditions of the problem.

There was a funeral as well as a marriage in the family

during the last days of Shakespeare. William Hart, who was carrying on the business of a hatter at the premises now known as the Birth-place, and who was the husband of the poet's sister Joan, was buried at Stratford-on-Avon on April 17, 1616. Before another week had elapsed, the spirit of the great dramatist himself had fled.

Among the numerous popular errors of our ancestors was the belief that fevers often resulted from convivial indulgences. This was the current notion in England until a comparatively recent period, and its prevalence affected the traditional history of the poet's last illness. The facts were these. Late in the March of this calamitous year, or, accepting our computation, early in April, Shakespeare and his two frends, Drayton and Ben Jonson, were regaling themselves at an entertainment in one of the taverns at Stratford-on-Avon. It is recorded that the party was a jovial one, and according to a late but apparently genuine tradition, when the great dramatist was returning to New Place in the evening, he had taken more wine than was conducive to pedestrian accuracy. Shortly or immediately afterwards he was seized by the lamentable fever which terminated fatally on Tuesday, April 23, 1616, a day, which, according to our present mode of computation, would be May 3. The cause of the malady, then attributed to undue festivity, would now be readily discernible in the wretched sanitary conditions surrounding his residence. If truth, and not romance, is to be invoked, were there the woodbine and sweet honeysuckle within reach of the poet's death-bed, their fragrance would have been neutralized by their vicinity to middens, fetid watercourses, mud-walls and piggeries.

The funeral was solemnized on the following Thursday,

CHURCH IN STRATFORD-ON-AVON, WITH
TOMB OF SHAKESPEARE.

GOOD FREND FOR IESVS SAKE FORBEARE
TO DIGG THE DVST ENCLOASED HEARE :
BLESTE BE YE MAN YT SPARES THES STONES,
AND CURST BE HE YT MOVES MY BONES.

April 25, when all that was mortal of the great dramatist was consigned to his final resting-place in the beautiful parish-church of his native town. His remains were deposited in the chancel, the selection of the locality for the interment being due to the circumstance of its then being the legal and customary burial-place of the owners of the tithes.

The grave is situated near the northern wall of the chancel, within a few paces of the ancient charnel-house, the arch of the doorway that opened to the latter, with its antique corbels, still remaining. The sepulcher was covered with a slab that bore the following inscription,—

> Good frend, for Iesvs sake forbeare
> To digg the dvst encloased heare;
> Bleste be the man that spares thes stones,
> And cvrst be he that moves my bones.

—lines which, according to an early tradition, were selected by the poet himself for his epitaph. There is another early but less probable statement that they were the poet's own composition; but, at all events, it may be safely gathered that they originated in some way from an aversion on his part to the idea of a disturbance of his remains. It should be remembered that the transfer of bones from graves to the charnel-house was then an ordinary practice at Stratford-on-Avon. There has long been a tradition that Shakespeare's feelings on this subject arose from a reflection on the ghastly appearance of that receptacle, which the elder Ireland, writing in the year 1795, describes as then containing "the largest assemblage of human bones" he had ever beheld. But whether this be the truth, or if it were merely the natural wish of a sensitive and thoughtful mind, it is a source of congratulation that the

simple verses should have protected his ashes from sacrilege. The nearest approach to an excavation into the grave of Shakespeare was made in the summer of the year 1796, in digging a vault in the immediate locality, when an opening appeared which was presumed to indicate the commencement of the site of the bard's remains. The most scrupulous care, however, was taken not to disturb the neighboring earth in the slightest degree, the clerk having been placed there, until the brickwork of the adjoining vault was completed, to prevent anyone making an examination. No relics whatever were visible through the small opening that thus presented itself, and as the poet was buried in the ground, not in a vault, the chancel earth, moreover, formerly absorbing a large degree of moisture, the great probability is that dust alone remains. This consideration may tend to discourage an irreverent opinion expressed by some, that it is due to the interests of science to unfold to the world the material abode which once held so great an intellect. It is not many years since a phalanx of trouble-tombs, lanterns and spades in hand, assembled in the chancel at dead of night, intent on disobeying the solemn injunction that the bones of Shakespeare were not to be disturbed. But the supplicatory lines prevailed. There were some among the number who, at the last moment, refused to incur the warning condemnation, and so the design was happily abandoned.

CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS

	Malone	Chalmers	Drake
1. First Part of Henry VI	1589	1593	
2. Second Part of Henry VI	1591	1595	1592
3. Third Part of Henry VI	1591	1595	1592
4. Two Gentlemen of Verona	1591	1595	1595
5. Comedy of Errors	1592	1591	1591
6. Richard II	1593	1596	1596
7. Richard III	1593	1596	1595
8. Love's Labor's Lost	1594	1592	1591
9. Merchant of Venice	1594	1597	1597
10. A Midsummer Night's Dream	1594	1598	1593
11. Romeo and Juliet	1596	1592	1593
12. King John	1596	1598	1598
13. Taming of the Shrew	1596	1599	1594
14. Part I of Henry IV	1597	1597	1596
15. Part II of Henry IV	1599	1597	1596
16. Henry V	1599	1597	1599
17. As You Like It	1599	1602	1600
18. Much Ado About Nothing	1600	1599	1599
19. Hamlet	1600	1598	1597
20. Merry Wives of Windsor	1601	1596	1601
21. Troilus and Cressida	1602	1610	1601
22. Measure for Measure	1603	1604	1603
23. Henry VIII	1603	1613	1602
24. Othello	1604	1614	1612
25. King Lear	1605	1605	1604
26. All's Well That Ends Well	1606	1606	1598
27. Macbeth	1606	1606	1606
28. Julius Cæsar	1607	1607	1607
29. Twelfth Night	1607	1613	1613
30. Antony and Cleopatra	1608	1608	1608
31. Cymbeline	1609	1609	1605
32. Timon of Athens	1610	1611	1602
33. Coriolanus	1610	1619	1609
34. Winter's Tale	1611	1601	1610
35. The Tempest	1611	1613	1611
36. Pericles	Not acknowledged		1609

37. Titus Andronicus, not acknowledged by these critics, but originally published about 1589.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY PLAYS

	Acted	Printed
Udall, *Ralph Roister Doister*	1552	1567
Sackville and Norton, *Gorboduc* (*Ferrex and Porrex*)	1562	1565
Gammer, *Gurton's Needle*	1563?	1575
Gascoigne, *Supposes and Jocasta*	1566	1566
Wilmot, *Tancred and Gismunda*	1568	1591
Preston, *Cambises King of Percia*	1569	1570
Whetstone, *Promos and Cassandra*	1578	1578
Lyly, *Campaspe*	1580–1581	1584
Lyly, *Sapho and Phao*	1582	1584
Peele, *Arraignement of Paris*	1583	1584
Lyly, *Endimion*	1586	1591
Marlowe, *Samburlaine*	1587–1588	1590
Hughes, *Misfortunes of Arthur*	1587	1587
Marlowe, *Faustus*	1588	1604
Kyd, *Spanish Tragedie*	1588	1594
Troublesome Raigne of King John	1588	1591
Greene, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*	1589	1594
Peele, *David and Bethsabe*	ca. 1589	1599
Marlowe, *Rich Jew of Malta*	1589	1594?
Marlowe, *Edward II*	1590	1594
Peele, *Edward I*	1590	1593
Arden of Feversham	1591?	1592
Peele, *Old Wives' Tale*	1593?	1595
Lyly, *Woman in the Moone*	1593	1597
The Raigne of Edward III		1596
Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*	1598	1601
Dekker, *The Shoemaker's Holiday*	1599	1600
Chapman, *All Fools*	1600?	1605
The Return from Parnassus	1601–1602	1606
Marston, *The Malcontent*	1602?	1604
Jonson, *Sejanus*	1603	1605
Heywood, *A Woman killed with Kindness*	1603	1607
Dekker, *The Honest Whore.* Part I	1603?	1604
Day, *Ile of Guls*	1605	1606
Jonson, *Volpone*	1605	1607
Marston, Chapman, and Jonson, *Eastward Hoe*	1605	1605
Chapman, *Bussy d'Ambois*	1606?	1607
Tourneur, *The Revenger's Tragedy*		1607

	Acted	Printed
Chapman, *Conspiracy* and *Tragedy of Byron*.....		1608
Webster, *The White Devil*.....	1607–1608	1612
Dekker, *The Honest Whore.* Part II.....	1608	1630
Fletcher, *The Faithful Shepherdess*.....	1608–1609	1610
Jonson, *The Silent Woman*.....	1609	1609?
Beaumont and Fletcher, *Philaster*.....	1609	1620
Jonson, *The Alchemist*.....	1610	1612
Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Maid's Tragedy*....	1609–1610	1619
Beaumont and Fletcher, *A King and No King*....	1611?	1619
Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*.....	1611	1613
Field, *A Woman is a Weathercock*.....	1611	1612
Fletcher (and Shakespeare?), *The Two Noble Kinsmen*	1613	1634
Chapman, *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois*.....		1613
Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*.....	1614	1631
Webster, *Duchess of Malfi*.....	1616	1623
Fletcher, *Valentinian*.....	1616?	1647
Fletcher and Massinger, *Thierry and Theodoret*...	1617?	1621
Fletcher, *Bonduca*.....	1618?	1647
Fletcher, *The Humorous Lieutenant*.....	1619	1640
Fletcher and Massinger, *Little French Lawyer*...	1620	1647
Dekker and Massinger, *The Virgin Martyr*.....		1622
Middleton, *The Changeling*.....	1622–1624	1653
Massinger, *The Duke of Milan*.....		1623
Fletcher, *The Pilgrim*.....	1621	1647
Fletcher (and another), *The Beggars' Bush*.....	1622	1647
Middleton and Rowley, *The Spanish Gipsie*.....	1623?	1653
Fletcher, *Rule a Wife and have a Wife*.....	1624	1640
Jonson, *The Staple of News*.....	1625	1631
Massinger, *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*.....	1625	1632
Ford, *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*.....	1628–1630	1633
Shirley, *The Gamester*.....	1634	1637
Jonson, *The Sad Shepherd*.....		1641
Middleton, *Women beware Women*.....		1657

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BENEDICK, a young lord of Padua, *Much Ado About Nothing:* Act I, sc. i; Act II, sc. i, iii; Act III, sc. ii; Act IV, sc. i; Act V, sc. i, ii, iv

BENVOLIO, nephew to Montague, and friend to Romeo, *Romeo and Juliet:* Act I, sc. i, ii, iv; Act II, sc. i, iv; Act III, sc. i

Bernardo, an officer, *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark:* Act I, sc. i, ii

Bertram, count of Rousillon, *All's Well That Ends Well:* Act I, sc. i, ii; Act II, sc. i, iii, v; Act III, sc. iii, v, vi; Act IV, sc. ii, iii; Act V, sc. iii

Bevis, George, follower of Jack Cade, *King Henry VI:* Part 2, Act IV, sc. ii, vii

Bianca, mistress to Cassio, *Othello:* Act III, sc. iv; Act IV, sc. i; Act V, sc. i

Bianca, daughter to Baptista, *The Taming of the Shrew:* Act I, sc. i; Act II, sc. i; Act III, sc. i, ii; Act IV, sc. ii; Act V, sc. i, ii

Bigot, Lord, *King John:* Act IV, sc. iii; Act V, sc. ii, iv, vii

Biondello, servant to Lucentio, *The Taming of the Shrew:* Act I, sc. i, ii; Act II, sc. i; Act III, sc. ii; Act IV, sc. ii, iv; Act V, sc. i, ii

Biron, lord attending on the King, *Love's Labor's Lost:* Act I, sc. i; Act II, sc. i; Act III, sc. i; Act IV, sc. iii; Act V, sc. ii

Blanch, of Spain, niece to King John, *King John:* Act II, sc. i; Act III, sc. i

Blount, Sir James, *King Richard III:* Act V, sc. ii

Blunt, Sir Walter, *King Henry IV:* Part 1, Act I, sc. i, iii; Act III, sc. ii; Act IV, sc. iii; Act V, sc. i, iii; Part 2, Act IV, sc. iii

Bolingbroke, Henry, Duke of Hereford, son to John of Gaunt, afterwards King Henry IV, *King Richard II:* Act I, sc. ii, iii; Act II, sc. iii; Act III, sc. i, iii; Act IV, sc. i; Act V, sc. iii, vi

Bolingbroke, a conjurer, *King Henry VI:* Part 2, Act I, sc. iv; Act II, sc. iii

Bona, sister to the French Queen, *King Henry VI:* Part 3, Act III, sc. iii

Borachio, follower of Don John, *Much Ado About Nothing:* Act I, sc. iii; Act II, sc. i, ii; Act III, sc. iii; Act IV, sc. ii; Act V, sc. i

Bottom, a weaver, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream:* Act I, sc. ii; Act III, sc. i; Act IV, sc. i, ii

Boult, *Pericles, Prince of Tyre:* Act IV, sc. ii, vi

Bourbon, Duke of, *King Henry V:* Act III, sc. v; Act IV, sc. v

Bourchier, Cardinal: *see* Archbishop of Canterbury, *King Richard III*

Boy, Troilus', *Troilus and Cressida:* Act I, sc. ii; Act III, sc. ii

Boyet, lord attending on the Princess of France, *Love's Labor's Lost:* Act II, sc. i; Act IV, sc. i; Act V, sc. ii

Brabantio, a senator, *Othello:* Act I, sc. i, ii, iii

Brakenbury, Sir Robert, Lieutenant of the Tower, *King Richard III:* Act I, sc. i, iv; Act IV, sc. i

Brandon, Sir William, *King Richard III:* Act V, sc. iii

Brandon, *King Henry VIII:* Act I, sc. i

Brutus, Decius, conspirator, *Julius Cæsar:* Act I, sc. ii; Act II, sc. i, ii; Act III, sc. i

BRUTUS, JUNIUS, *Rape of Lucrece*

BRUTUS, JUNIUS, tribune of the people, *Coriolanus:* Act I, sc. i; Act II, sc. i, ii, iii; Act III, sc. i, iii; Act IV, sc. ii, vi; Act V, sc. i

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BULLEN, ANNE, Maid of Honor to Queen Katharine, afterwards Queen, *King Henry VIII:* Act I, sc. iv; Act II, sc. iii; Act IV, sc. i

BURGUNDY, DUKE OF, *King Henry V:* Part 1, Act II, sc. i, ii; Act III, sc. ii, iii; Act IV, sc. vii; Act V, sc. ii

BURGUNDY, DUKE OF, *King Lear:* Act I, sc. i

BUSHY, servant to King Richard II, *King Richard II:* Act I, sc. iii, iv; Act II, sc. i, ii; Act III, sc. i

BUTTS, DOCTOR, physician to the King, *King Henry VIII:* Act V, sc. ii

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CADE, JACK, a rebel, *King Henry VI:* Part 2, Act IV, sc. ii, iii, vi, vii, viii, x

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CAITHNESS, nobleman of Scotland, *Macbeth:* Act V, sc. ii, iv

CAIUS, DOCTOR, a French physician, *Merry Wives of Windsor:* Act I, sc. iv; Act II, sc. iii; Act III, sc. i, ii, iii; Act IV, sc. ii, v; Act V, sc. iii, v

CALCHAS, a Trojan priest, taking part with the Greeks, *Troilus and Cressida:* Act III, sc. iii

CALIBAN, a savage and deformed slave, *The Tempest:* Act I, sc. ii; Act II, sc. ii; Act III, sc. ii; Act IV, sc. i; Act V, sc. i

CALPURNIA, wife to Cæsar, *Julius Cæsar:* Act I, sc. ii; Act II, sc. ii

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CAMILLO, A Lord of Sicilia, *The Winter's Tale:* Act I, sc. i, ii; Act IV, sc. ii, iv; Act V, sc. iii

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CANIDIUS, lieutenant-general to

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Caphis, servant, *Timon of Athens:* Act II, sc. i, ii

Capucius, Ambassador from Emperor Charles V, *King Henry VIII:* Act IV, sc. ii

Capulet, head of his house at variance with the house of Montague, *Romeo and Juliet:* Act I, sc. i, ii, v; Act III, sc. i, iv, v; Act IV, sc. ii, iv, v; Act V, sc. iii

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Carlisle, Bishop of, *King Richard II:* Act III, sc. ii, iii; Act IV, sc. i; Act V, sc. vi

Casca, conspirator, *Julius Cæsar:* Act I, sc. ii, iii; Act II, sc. i, ii; Act III, sc. i

Cassandra, daughter to Priam; a prophetess, *Troilus and Cressida:* Act II, sc. ii; Act V, sc. iii

Cassio, lieutenant to Othello, *Othello:* Act I, sc. ii; Act II, sc. i, iii; Act III, sc. i, iii, iv; Act IV, sc. i; Act V, sc. i, ii

Cassius, conspirator, *Julius Cæsar:* Act I, sc. ii, iii; Act II, sc. i; Act III, sc. ii; Act IV, sc. ii, iii; Act V, sc. i, iii

Catesby, Sir William, *King Richard III:* Act I, sc. iii; Act III, sc. i, ii, v, vii; Act IV, sc. ii, iii, iv; Act V, sc. iii, iv

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Celia, daughter to Frederick, *As You Like It:* Act I, sc. ii, iii; Act II, sc. iv; Act III, sc. ii, iv, v; Act IV, sc. i, iii; Act V, sc. iv

Cerimon, a lord of Ephesus, *Pericles, Prince of Tyre:* Act III, sc. ii, iv; Act V, sc. iii

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Charles VI, king of France, *King Henry V:* Act II, sc. iv; Act III, sc. v; Act V, sc. ii

Charles, Dauphin, afterwards King of France, *King Henry VI:* Part 1, Act I, sc. ii, v, vi; Act II, sc. i; Act III, sc. ii, iii; Act IV, sc. vii; Act V, sc. ii, iv

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Julius Cæsar; Act II, sc. i, ii; Act III, sc. i

CINNA, conspirator, *Julius Cæsar:* Act I, sc. ii; Act II, sc. i, ii; Act III, sc. i

CINNA, a poet, *Julius Cæsar:* Act III, sc. iii

CLARENCE, DUKE OF, son to King Henry IV, *King Henry IV:* Part 2, Act IV, sc. iv, v; Act V, sc. ii

CLARENCE, DUKE OF, brother to King Edward IV, *King Richard III:* Act I, sc. i, iv

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CLAUDIO, a young gentleman, *Measure for Measure:* Act I, sc. ii; Act III, sc. i; Act IV, sc. ii; Act V, sc. i

CLAUDIO, a young lord of Florence, *Much Ado About Nothing:* Act I, sc. i; Act II, sc. i, iii; Act III, sc. ii; Act IV, sc. i; Act V, sc. i, iii, iv

CLAUDIUS, servant to Brutus, *Julius Cæsar:* Act IV, sc. iii

CLAUDIUS, King of Denmark, *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark:* Act I, sc. ii; Act II, sc. ii; Act III, sc. i, ii, iii; Act IV, sc. i, iii, v, vii; Act V, sc. i, ii

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CLEON, governor of Tarsus, *Pericles, Prince of Tyre:* Act I, sc. iv; Act III, sc. iii; Act IV, sc. iii

CLEOPATRA, Queen of Egypt, *Antony and Cleopatra:* Act I, sc. i, ii, iii, v; Act II, sc. v; Act III, sc. iii, vii, xi, xiii;

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CLIFFORD, LORD, *King Henry VI:* Part 2, Act IV, sc. viii, ix; Act V, sc. i, ii; Part 3, Act I, sc. i, iii, iv; Act II, sc. ii, iv, vi

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CLOTEN, son to the Queen by a former husband, *Cymbeline:* Act I, sc. ii; Act II, sc. i, iii; Act III, sc. i, v; Act IV, sc. i, ii

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CONRADE, follower of Don John, *Much Ado About Nothing:* Act I, sc. iii; Act III, sc. iii; Act IV, sc. ii; Act V, sc. i

CONSTANCE, mother to Arthur, *King John:* Act II, sc. i; Act III, sc. i, iv

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CORIN, a shepherd, *As You Like It:* Act II, sc. iv; Act III, sc. ii, iv, v; Act V, sc. i

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CORNELIUS, a courtier, *Hamlet,*

Prince of Denmark: Act I, sc. ii; Act II, sc. ii

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COURT, soldier in King Henry's army, *King Henry V:* Act IV, sc. i, viii

CRANMER, Archbishop of Canterbury, *King Henry VIII:* Act II, sc. iv; Act V, sc. i, ii, v

CRESSIDA, daughter to Calchas, *Troilus and Cressida:* Act I, sc. ii; Act III, sc. ii; Act IV, sc. ii, iv, v; Act V, sc. ii

CROMWELL, servant to Wolsey, *King Henry VIII:* Act III, sc. ii; Act IV, sc. iii

CURAN, a courtier, *King Lear:* Act II, sc. i

CURIO, gentleman attending on Orsino, *Twelfth Night:* Act I, sc. i, iv; Act II, sc. iv; Act V, sc. i

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DEMETRIUS, suitor to Hermia, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream:* Act I, sc. i; Act II, sc. i, ii; Act III, sc. ii; Act IV, sc. i; Act V, sc. i

DEMETRIUS, son to Tamora, *Titus Andronicus:* Act I, sc. i; Act II, sc. i, ii, iii, iv; Act IV, sc. ii, iv

DEMETRIUS, friend to Antony, *Antony and Cleopatra:* Act I, sc. i

DENNIS, servant to Oliver, *As You Like it:* Act I, sc. i

DENNY, SIR ANTHONY, *King Henry VIII:* Act V, sc. i

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DERCETAS, friend to Antony, *Antony and Cleopatra:* Act IV, sc. xiv; Act V, sc. i

DESDEMONA, daughter to Brabantio and wife to Othello, *Othello:* Act I, sc. iii; Act II, sc. i, iii; Act III, sc. iii, iv; Act IV, sc. i, ii, iii; Act V, sc. ii

DIANA, daughter to widow, *All's well that ends well:* Act III, sc. v; Act IV, sc. ii, iv; Act V, sc. i, iii

DIANA, goddess, *Pericles:* Act V, sc. i

DICK, the butcher, follower of Jack Cade, rebel, *King Henry VI:* Part 2, Act IV, sc. ii, iii, vi, vii

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DIOMEDES, attendant on Cleopatra, *Antony and Cleopatra:* Act IV, sc. xiv, xv

DION, a Lord of Sicilia, *The Winter's Tale:* Act III, sc. i, ii; Act V, sc. i

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DUMAIN, lord attending on the King, *Love's Labor's Lost:* Act I, sc. i; Act II, sc. i; Act IV, sc. iii; Act V, sc. ii

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EDMUND, bastard son of Gloucester, *King Lear:* Act I, sc. i; Act I, sc. ii; Act II, sc. i, ii; Act III, sc. iii, v, vii; Act IV, sc. ii; Act V, sc. i, iii

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EDWARD, Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward V, son to King Edward IV, *King Richard III:* Act III, sc. i

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EGLAMOUR, Agent for Silvia in her escape, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona:* Act IV, sc. iii; Act V, sc. i

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EMILIA, a lady attending on Hermione, *The Winter's Tale:* Act II, sc. ii

ENOBARBUS, DOMITIUS, friend to Antony, *Antony and Cleopatra:* Act I, sc. ii; Act II, sc. ii, vi, vii; Act III, sc. ii, v, vii, ix, x, xiii; Act IV, sc. ii, vi, ix

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FERDINAND, son to the King of Naples, *The Tempest:* Act I, sc. i, ii; Act III, sc. i; Act IV, sc. i; Act V, sc. i

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FESTE, a clown, servant to Olivia, *Twelfth Night:* Act I, sc. v; Act II, sc. iii; Act III, sc. i; Act IV, sc. i, ii; Act V, sc. i

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FLAVIUS, tribune, *Julius Cæsar:* Act I, sc. i

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FLUELLEN, officer in King Henry's army, *King Henry V:* Act III, sc. ii, vi; Act IV, sc. i, vii, viii; Act V, sc. i

FLUTE, a bellows-mender, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream:* Act I, sc. ii; Act III, sc. i; Act IV, sc. ii

FORD, a gentleman dwelling at Windsor, *Merry Wives of Windsor:* Act II, sc. i; Act II, sc. ii; Act III, sc. ii, iii, v; Act IV, sc. ii; Act V, sc. i, v

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GADSHILL, *King Henry IV:* Part 1, Act II, sc. i; Act II, sc. ii, iv

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GARDINER, Bishop of Winchester, *King Henry VIII:* Act II, sc. ii; Act IV, sc. i; Act V, sc. i, iii

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GLOUCESTER, DUKE OF, brother to King Henry V, *King Henry V:* Act I, sc. ii; Act III, sc. i, vi; Act IV, sc. i, iii, vii, viii; Act V, sc. ii

GLOUCESTER, EARL OF, *King Lear:* Act I, sc. i, ii; Act II, sc. i, ii, iv; Act III, sc. iii, iv, vi, vii; Act IV, sc. i, vi; Act V, sc. ii

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GOBBO, LAUNCELOT, the clown, servant to Shylock, *The Merchant of Venice:* Act II, sc. ii, iii, iv, v; Act V, sc. i

GOBBO, OLD, father to Launcelot, *The Merchant of Venice:* Act II, sc. ii

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GONZALO, an honest old Counselor, *The Tempest:* Act I, sc. i; Act II, sc. i; Act III, sc. iii; Act V, sc. i

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GOWER, officer in King Henry's army, *King Henry V:* Act III, sc. ii, vi; Act IV, sc. i, vii, viii; Act V, sc. i
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GRATIANO, friend to Antonio and Bassanio, *The Merchant of Venice:* Act I, sc. i; Act II, sc. ii, iv, vi; Act III, sc. ii; Act IV, sc. i, ii; Act V, sc. i
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GREEN, servant to King Richard II, *King Richard II:* Act I, sc. iii, iv; Act II, sc. i, ii; Act III, sc. i
GREGORY, servant to Capulet, *Romeo and Juliet:* Act I, sc. i
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GUILDENSTERN, a courtier, *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark:* Act II, sc. ii; Act III, sc. i, ii, iii; Act IV, sc. i, ii, iii, iv
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GURNEY, JAMES, servant to Lady Faulconbridge, *King John:* Act I, sc. i

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HELENA, a gentlewoman protected by the Countess, *All's Well that Ends Well:* Act I, sc. i, iii; Act II, sc, i, iii, iv, v;

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HELENA, in love with Demetrius, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream:* Act I, sc. i; Act II, sc. i, ii; Act III, sc. ii; Act IV, sc. i; Act V, sc. i

HELENUS, son of Priam, *Troilus and Cressida:* Act I, sc. ii; Act II, sc. ii

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HERMIA, daughter to Egeus, in love with Lysander, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream:* Act I, sc. i; Act II, sc. ii; Act III, sc. ii; Act IV, sc. i; Act V, sc. i

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HERO, daughter to Leonato, *Much Ado About Nothing:* Act I, sc. i; Act II, sc. i; Act III, sc. i, iv; Act IV, sc. i; Act V, sc. iv

HIPPOLYTA, queen of the Amazons, betrothed to Theseus, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream:* Act I, sc. i; Act IV, sc. i; Act V, sc. i

HOLLAND, JOHN, follower of Jack Cade, rebel, *King Henry VI:* Part 2, Act IV, sc. ii, vi, vii

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HORATIO, friend to Hamlet, *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark:* Act I, sc. i, ii, iv, v; Act III, sc. ii; Act IV, sc. v, vi; Act V, sc. i, ii

HORNER, THOMAS, an armorer, *King Henry VI:* Part 2, Act I, sc. iii; Act II, sc. iii

HORTENSIO, suitor to Bianca,

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HORTENSIUS, servant, *Timon of Athens:* Act III, sc. iv

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HUME, JOHN, priest, *King Henry VI:* Part 2, Act I, sc. ii, iv; Act II, sc. iii

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IAGO, ancient to Othello, *Othello:* Act I, sc. i, ii, iii; Act II, sc. i, iii; Act III, sc. i, ii, iii, iv; Act IV, sc. i, ii; Act V, sc. i, ii

IDEM, ALEXANDER, a Kentish gentleman, *King Henry VI:* Part 2, Act IV, sc. x; Act V, sc. i

IMOGEN, daughter to Cymbeline, *Cymbeline:* Act I, sc. i, iii, vi; Act II, sc. ii, iii; Act III, sc. ii, iv, vi; Act IV, sc. ii; Act V, sc. ii, v

IRAS, attendant on Cleopatra, *Antony and Cleopatra:* Act I, sc. ii, iii, v; Act II, sc. v; Act III, sc. iii, xi, xiii; Act IV, sc. ii, xiii, xv; Act V, sc. ii

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ISABELLA, sister to Claudio, *Measure for Measure:* Act I, sc. iv; Act II, sc. ii, iv; Act III, sc. i; Act IV, sc. i, iii, vi; Act V, sc. i

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JAQUENETTA, a country wench, *Love's Labor's Lost:* Act I, sc. ii; Act IV, sc. ii, iii

JAQUES, lord attending on the banished Duke, *As You Like It:* Act II, sc. v, vii; Act III, sc. ii, iii; Act IV, sc. i; Act V, sc. iv

JAQUES, son of Sir Rowland de Boys, *As You Like It:* Act V, sc. iv

JESSICA, daughter to Shylock, *The Merchant of Venice:* Act II, sc. iii, v, vi; Act III, sc. ii, iv, v; Act V, sc. i

JOAN, LA PUCELLE, commonly called Joan of Arc, *King Henry VI:* Part 1, Act I, sc. ii, v, vi; Act II, sc. i; Act III, sc. ii, iii; Act IV, sc. vii; Act V, sc. ii, iii, iv

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JULIA, beloved of Proteus, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona:* Act I, sc. ii; Act II, sc. ii, vii; Act IV, sc. ii, iv; Act V, sc. ii, iv

JULIET, beloved of Claudio, *Measure for Measure:* Act I, sc. ii; Act II, sc. iii; Act V, sc. i

JULIET, daughter to Capulet, *Romeo and Juliet:* Act I, sc. iii, v; Act II, sc. v, vi; Act III, sc. ii, v; Act IV, sc. i, ii, iii, v

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KATHARINE, daughter to Charles and Isabel, *King Henry V:* Act III, sc. iv; Act V, sc. ii

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LAFEU, an old lord, *All's well that ends well,* Act I, sc. i, ii; Act II, sc. i, iii, v; Act IV, sc. v; Act V, sc. ii, iii

LARTIUS, TITUS, general against the Volscians, *Coriolanus:* Act I, sc. i, iv, v, vii, ix; Act II, sc. i; Act III, sc. i

LAUNCE, a clownish servant to Proteus, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona:* Act II, sc. iii, v; Act III, sc. i; Act IV, sc. iv

LAURENCE, FRIAR, a Franciscan, *Romeo and Juliet:* Act II, sc. iii, vi; Act III, sc. iii; Act IV, sc. i, v; Act V, sc. ii, iii

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LAVINIA, daughter to Titus Andronicus, *Titus Andronicus:* Act I, sc. i; Act II, sc. ii, iii, iv; Act III, sc. i, ii; Act IV, sc. i; Act V, sc. ii, iii

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LE BEAU, a courtier attending upon Frederick, *As You Like It:* Act I, sc. ii

LENA, POPILIUS, senator, *Julius Cæsar:* Act III, sc. i

LENNOX, nobleman of Scotland, *Macbeth:* Act I, sc. ii, iv, vi;

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LEONARDO, servant to Bassanio, *The Merchant of Venice:* Act II, sc. ii

LEONATO, governor of Messina, *Much Ado About Nothing:* Act I, sc. i, ii; Act II, sc. i, iii; Act III, sc. ii, v; Act IV, sc. i; Act V, sc. i, iv

LEONATUS, POSTHUMUS, a gentleman, husband to Imogen, *Cymbeline:* Act I, sc. i, iv; Act II, sc. iv, v; Act V, sc. i, ii, iii, iv, v

LEONINE, servant to Dionyza, *Pericles, Prince of Tyre:* Act IV, sc. i

LEONTES, King of Sicilia, *The Winter's Tale:* Act I, sc. ii; Act II, sc. i, iii; Act III, sc. ii; Act V, sc. i, iii

LEPIDUS, M. ÆMIL, triumvir, *Julius Cæsar:* Act III, sc. i; Act IV, sc. i; *Antony and Cleopatra:* Act I, sc. iv; Act II, sc. ii, iv, vi, vii; Act III, sc. ii

LEWIS XI, King of France, *King Henry VI:* Part 3, Act III, sc. iii

LEWIS, the Dauphin of France, *King John:* Act II, sc. i; Act III, sc. i, iv; Act V, sc. ii, v

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LODOVICO, kinsman to Brabantio, *Othello:* Act IV, sc. i, iii; Act V, sc. i, ii

LONGAVILLE, lord attending on the King, *Love's Labor's Lost:* Act I, sc. i; Act II, sc. i; Act IV, sc. iii; Act V, sc. ii

LORENZO, in love with Jessica, *The Merchant of Venice:* Act I, sc. i; Act II, sc. iv, vi; Act III, sc. ii, iv, v; Act V, sc. i

LOVEL, LORD, *King Richard III:* Act III, sc. iv, v

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LUCENTIO, son to Vincentio, in love with Bianca, *The Taming of the Shrew:* Act I, sc. i, ii; Act II, sc. i; Act III, sc. i, ii; Act IV, sc. ii, iv; Act V, sc. i, ii

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LUCIANA, sister to Adriana, *Comedy of Errors:* Act II, sc. i, ii; Act III, sc. ii; Act IV, sc. ii, iv; Act V, sc. i

LUCILIUS, friend to Brutus and Cassius, *Julius Cæsar:* Act IV, sc. ii, iii; Act V, sc. i, iv, v

LUCILIUS, servant to Timon, *Timon of Athens:* Act I, sc. i

LUCIO, a fantastic, *Measure for Measure:* Act I, sc. ii, iv; Act II, sc. ii; Act III, sc. ii; Act IV, sc. iii; Act V, sc. i

LUCIUS, CAIUS, General of the Roman forces, *Cymbeline:* Act III, sc. i, v; Act IV, sc. ii; Act V, sc. ii, v

LUCIUS, son to Titus Andronicus, *Titus Andronicus:* Act I, sc. i; Act II, sc. ii, iii; Act III, sc. i; Act V, sc. i, iii

LUCIUS, a flattering lord, *Timon*

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Lucius, servant to Brutus, *Julius Cæsar:* Act II, sc. i, iv; Act IV, sc. ii, iii

Lucullus, a flattering lord, *Timon of Athens:* Act III, sc. i

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Lychorida, nurse to Marina, *Pericles, Prince of Tyre:* Act III, sc. i, iii

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Macbeth, general of the king's army, *Macbeth:* Act I, sc. iii, iv, v, vii; Act II, sc. i, ii, iii; Act III, sc. i, ii, iv; Act IV, sc. i; Act V, sc. ii, v, vii, viii

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Macduff, nobleman of Scotland, *Macbeth:* Act I, sc. vi; Act II, sc. iii, iv; Act IV, sc. iii; Act V, sc. iv, vi, vii, viii

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Mæcenas, friend to Cæsar, *Antony and Cleopatra:* Act II, sc. ii, iv, vi, vii; Act III, sc. vi; Act IV, sc. i; Act V, sc. i, ii

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Mamillius, young prince of Sicilia, *The Winter's Tale:* Act I, sc. ii; Act II, sc. i

Marcellus, an officer, *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark:* Act I, sc. i, iv, v

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Mardian, a eunuch, attendant on Cleopatra, *Antony and Cleopatra:* Act I, sc. v; Act II, sc. v; Act IV, sc. xiii, xiv

Margarelon, a bastard son of Priam, *Troilus and Cressida:* Act V, sc. vii

Margaret, gentlewoman attendant on Hero, *Much Ado About Nothing:* Act II, sc. i; Act III, sc. i, iv; Act V, sc. ii, iv

Margaret, daughter of Reignier, afterwards married to King Henry VI, *King Henry VI:* Part 1, Act V, sc. iii; Part 2, Act I, sc. i, iii; Act II, sc. i, iii; Act III, sc. i, ii; Act IV, sc. iv, ix; Act V, sc. i, ii; Part 3, Act I, sc. i, iv; Act II, sc. ii, v; Act III, sc. iii; Act V, sc. iv, v

Margaret, widow of King Henry VI, *King Richard III:* Act I, sc. iii; Act IV, sc. iv

Mariana, neighbor and friend to

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MARIANA, betrothed to Angelo, *Measure for Measure:* Act IV, sc. i, vi; Act V, sc. i

MARINA, daughter to Pericles and Thaisa, *Pericles, Prince of Tyre:* Act III, sc. iii; Act IV, sc. i, ii, vi; Act V, sc. i, iii

MARCIUS, CAIUS, surnamed Coriolanus, *Coriolanus:* Act I, sc. i, iv, v, vi, viii, ix; Act II, sc. i, ii, iii; Act III, sc. i, ii, iii; Act IV, sc. i, iv, v; Act V, sc. ii, iii, vi

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MARTEXT, SIR OLIVER, a vicar, *As You Like It:* Act III, sc. iii

MARTIUS, son to Titus Andronicus, *Titus Andronicus:* Act I, sc. i; Act II, sc. ii, iii; Act III, sc. i

MARULLUS, tribune, *Julius Cæsar:* Act I, sc. i

MELUN, a French Lord, *King John:* Act V, sc. ii, iv

MENAS, friend to Sextus Pompeius, *Antony and Cleopatra:* Act II, sc. i, vi, vii

MENECRATES, friend to Sextus Pompeius, *Antony and Cleopatra:* Act II, sc. i

MENELAUS, brother to Agamemnon, *Troilus and Cressida:* Act I, sc. iii; Act III, sc. iii; Act IV, sc. v; Act V, sc. i, ix

MENTEITH, nobleman of Scotland, *Macbeth:* Act V, sc. ii, iv

MERCADE, lord attending on the Princess of France, *Love's Labor's Lost:* Act V, sc. ii

MERCUTIO, kinsman to Escalus, and friend to Romeo, *Romeo and Juliet:* Act I, sc. iv; Act II, sc. i, iv; Act III, sc. i

MESSALA, friend to Brutus and Cassius, *Julius Cæsar:* Act IV, sc. iii; Act V, sc. i, ii, iii, v

MICHAEL, SIR, a friend to the archbishop of York, *King Henry IV:* Part 1, Act IV, sc. iv

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MIRANDA, daughter to Prospero, *The Tempest:* Act I, sc. ii; Act III, sc. i; Act IV, sc. i; Act V, sc. i

MONTAGUE, head of his house at variance with the house of Capulet, *Romeo and Juliet:* Act I, sc. i; Act III, sc. i; Act V, sc. iii

MONTAGUE, LADY, wife to Montague, *Romeo and Juliet:* Act I, sc. i

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MONTANO, Othello's predecessor in the government of Cyprus,

Othello: Act II, sc. i, iii; Act V, sc. ii

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THOMAS, friar, *Measure for Measure:* Act I, sc. iii

THURIO, a foolish rival to Valentine, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona:* Act II, sc. iv; Act III, sc. i, ii; Act IV, sc. ii; Act V, sc. ii, iv

THYREUS, friend to Cæsar, *Antony and Cleopatra:* Act III, sc. xii, xiii

TIMANDRA, mistress to Alcibiades, *Timon of Athens:* Act IV, sc. iii

TIMON, a noble Athenian, *Timon of Athens:* Act I, sc. i, ii; Act II, sc. ii; Act III, sc. iv, vi; Act IV, sc. i, iii; Act V, sc. i

TITANIA, queen of the fairies, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream:* Act II, sc. i, ii; Act III, sc. i; Act IV, sc. i; Act V, sc. i

TITINIUS, friend to Brutus and Cassius, *Julius Cæsar:* Act IV, sc. ii, iii; Act V, sc. i, iii

TITUS, servant, *Timon of Athens:* Act III, sc. iv

TOUCHSTONE, a clown, *As You Like It:* Act I, sc. ii; Act II, sc. iv; Act III, sc. ii, iii; Act V, sc. i, iii, iv

TRANIO, servant to Lucentio, *The Taming of the Shrew:* Act I, sc. i, ii; Act II, sc. i; Act III, sc. ii; Act IV, sc. ii, iv; Act V, sc. i, ii

TRAVERS, retainer of Northumberland, *King Henry IV:* Part 2, Act I, sc. i

TREBONIUS, conspirator, *Julius Cæsar:* Act II, sc. i, ii; Act III, sc. i

TRINCULO, a Jester, *The Tempest:* Act II, sc. ii; Act III, sc. ii; Act IV, sc. i; Act V, sc. i

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U

ULYSSES, Grecian commander, *Troilus and Cressida:* Act I, sc. iii; Act II, sc. iii; Act III, sc. iii; Act IV, sc. v; Act V, sc. i, ii, v

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URSWICK, CHRISTOPHER, a priest, *King Richard III:* Act IV, sc. v

V

VALENTINE, A gentleman of Verona, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona:* Act I, sc. i; Act II, sc. i, iv; Act III, sc. i; Act IV, sc. i; Act V, sc. iv

VALENTINE, gentleman attending on Orsino, *Twelfth Night:* Act I, sc. i, iv

VALERIA, friend to Virgilia, *Coriolanus:* Act I, sc. iii; Act II, sc. i; Act V, sc. iii, v

VARRIUS, *Measure for Measure:* Act IV, sc. v; Act V, sc. i

VARRIUS, friend to Sextus Pompeius, *Antony and Cleopatra:* Act II, sc. i

VARRO, servant to Brutus, *Julius Cæsar:* Act IV, sc. iii

VAUGHAN, SIR THOMAS, *King Richard III:* Act III, sc. iii

VAUX, *King Henry VI:* Part 2, Act III, sc. ii

VAUX, SIR NICHOLAS, *King Henry VIII:* Act II, sc. i

VELUTUS, SICINIUS, tribune of the people, *Coriolanus:* Act I, sc. i; Act II, sc. i, ii, iii; Act III, sc. i, iii; Act IV, sc. ii, vi; Act V, sc. i, iv

VENICE, Duke of, *The Merchant of Venice:* Act IV, sc. i

VENICE, DUKE OF, *Othello:* Act I, sc. iii

VENTIDIUS, one of Timon's false friends, *Timon of Athens:* Act I, sc. ii

VENTIDIUS, friend to Antony, *Antony and Cleopatra:* Act II, sc. ii, iii; Act III, sc. i

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VERNON, SIR RICHARD, *King Henry IV:* Part 1, Act IV, sc. i, iii; Act V, sc. i, ii, v

VENUS, *Passionate Pilgrim, Venus and Adonis*

VINCENTIO, DUKE, *Measure for Measure:* Act I, sc. i, iii; Act II, sc. iii; Act III, sc. i, ii; Act IV, sc. i, ii, iii, v; Act V, sc. i

VINCENTIO, an old gentleman of Pisa, *The Taming of the Shrew:* Act IV, sc. v; Act V, sc. i, ii

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YORK, DUCHESS OF, *King Richard II:* Act V, sc. ii, iii

YORK, DUCHESS OF, mother to King Edward IV, *King Richard III:* Act II, sc. ii, iv; Act IV, sc. i, iv

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THE FIRST PART OF KING HENRY VI

All the unsigned footnotes in this volume are by the writer of the article to which they are appended. The interpretation of the initials signed to the others is: I. G. = Israel Gollancz, M.A.; H. N. H.= Henry Norman Hudson, A.M.; C. H. H.= C. H. Herford, Litt.D.

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To those Gentlemen, his Quondam acquaintance, that spend their wits in making Plaies, R. G. wisheth a better exercise, and wisdom to present his extremities.

Thou famous gracer of Tragedians, . . . young Juvenall, that byting Satyrist, . . . and thou no less deserving than the other two. . . . Base-minded men al three of you, if by my miserie ye be not warned, for unto none of you (like me) sought those burres to cleave: those Puppets (I mean) that speake from our mouths, those anticks garnisht in our colours. Is it not strange that I, to whom they all have been beholding; is it not like that you, to whom they all have been beholding, shall (were ye in that case that I am now) be both at once of them forsaken? Yes, trust them not: for there is an upstart Crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his *Tygers heart wrapt in a Players hide*, supposes he is as well able to bumbast out a blanke verse as the best of you; and being an absolute *Iohannes fac totum*, is in his own conceit the onely Shake-scene in a countrie. O that I might entreate your rare wits to be imployed in more profitable courses: and let these Apes imitate your past excellence, and never more acquaint them with your admired inventions.

Greene's Groatsworth of Wit, bought with a Million of Repentance (*written before his death* [1592], *and published at his dying request*).

PREFACE TO THE THREE PARTS

By Israel Gollancz, M.A.

FIRST EDITIONS

(I.) *The First Part of Henry the Sixth* was in all probability printed for the first time in the First Folio. On November 8, 1623, Blount & Jaggard entered, among other copies of Shakespeare's works "not formerly entered to other men," "the Thirde Parte of Henry the Sixt," by which term they evidently referred to the play which, chronologically considered, precedes the Second and Third Parts.

The opening lines of the play are sufficient to render it well-nigh certain that 1 *Henry VI* is not wholly Shakespeare's;[1] and there can be little doubt that "the hand of the Great Master is only occasionally perceptible" therein. Probably we have here an inferior production by some unknown dramatist,[2] writing about 1589, to which Shakespeare made important "additions" in the year 1591; to him may safely be assigned the greater part of Act IV. ii.-vii., especially the Talbot episodes (scene vii., in spite of its rhyme, has the Shakespearian note, and is noteworthy from the point of view of literary history); the wooing of Margaret by Suffolk (V. iii.) has, too, some-

[1] *Cp.* Coleridge, "If you do not feel the impossibility of [these lines] having been written by Shakespeare, all I dare suggest is, that you may have ears,—for so has another animal,—but an ear you cannot have, *me judice.*"

[2] Dr. Furnivall sees at least four hands in the play; Mr. Fleay assigns it to Peele, Marlowe, Lodge or Nash, and Shakespeare. The attempt to determine the authorship is futile, owing to the absence of all evidence on the point.

thing of Shakespeare's touch; finally, there is the Temple Garden scene (II. iv.), which is certainly Shakespeare's, though, judged by metrical peculiarities it may well have been added some years after 1591. We may be sure that at no time in his career could he have been guilty of the crude and vulgar presentment of Joan of Arc in the latter part of the play.

(II.) *The Second and Third Parts of Henry the Sixth*, forming together a two-sectioned play, have come down to us in two versions:—(*a*) The Folio version, authorized by Shakespeare's editors; (*b*) a carelessly printed early Quarto version, differing in many important respects from (*a*); about 3,240 lines in the Quarto edition appear either in the same or an altered form in the Folio edition, while about 2,740 lines in the latter are entirely new.[1] The title-pages of the first Quartos, corresponding to Parts I. and II. respectively, are as follows:—(i.) "The First part of the Con | tention betwixt the two famous houses of Yorke | and Lancaster, with the death of the good | Duke Humphrey: | And the banishment and death of the Duke of | Suffolk, and the Tragicall end of the proud Cardinall | of Winchester, with the notable Rebellion | of *Iacke Cade:* | *And the Duke of Yorke's first claime unto the* | *Crowne.* LONDON. Printed by Thomas Creed, for Thomas Millington, | and are to be sold at his shop vnder Saint Peter's | Church in Cornwall. | 1594."[2] [Q.1.] (ii) "The | true Tragedie of Richard | *Duke of Yorke, and the death of* | good King Henrie the Sixt, | *with the whole contention betweene* | the two Houses Lancaster | and Yorke, as it was sundrie times | acted by the Right Honoura | ble the Earle of Pem-brooke his Seruants. | Printed at London by P. S. for Thomas Milling- | *ton, and are to be sold at his shoppe under* | *Saint*

[1] "Out of 3075 lines in Part II., there are 1715 new lines and some 840 altered lines (many but very slightly altered), and some 520 old lines. In Part III., out of 2902 lines, there are about 1021 new lines, about 871 altered lines, and above 1010 old lines."

[2] Entered in the Stationers' Register, March 12, 1593.

Peter's Church in | Cornwall, 1595." [Q. 1.] Second editions of both (i.) and (ii.) appeared in 1600, and in 1619 a third edition of the two plays together:—"The | Whole Contention | betweene the two Famous | Houses, LANCASTER and | YORKE. | *With the Tragicall ends of the good Duke* Humfrey, Richard Duke of Yorke, *and King Henrie the Sixt.* Divided into two Parts: and newly corrected and enlarged. Written by *William Shakespeare*, Gent. | Printed at LONDON, for T. P." [Q. 3.]

(Both the First and Third Quartos have been reproduced by photolithography in the series of Quarto Facsimiles issued under the superintendence of Dr. Furnivall; Nos. 23, 24, 37, 38.) In the comparison of Quartos 1 and 3 one finds that the corrections are principally in Part I.; in Part II. the alterations are almost all of single words; taken altogether, however, the changes are slight, and are such "as may have been made by a Revizer who heard the Folio Play (2 Henry VI) with a copy of Q. 1 or Q. 2 in his hand, or who had a chance of taking a note or two from the Burbage-playhouse copy, and then made further corrections at home." At all events, Q. 3 is a more correct copy of the older form of 2, 3 *Henry VI* than we have in Q. 1, though its superiority does not bring it much nearer to the Folio version.[1]

THE RELATION OF THE QUARTOS TO 2 AND 3 HENRY VI

The most cursory glance at the Quartos is enough to convince one that scant justice has been done to the author of the plays, and that the printers of the Quartos must have had very careless copy before them. Probably many errors may be referred to the indifferent reporters employed by the pirate publisher.

"Some by stenography drew
The plot, put in print, scarce one word true";

[1] A condensed version of the three parts of Henry VI., in one play, was prepared by Charles Kemble, and has recently been printed for the first time in the *Irving Shakespeare* from the unique copy in Mr. Irving's possession.

so complained Thomas Heywood of the treatment to which one of his productions had been subjected; he complained, too, that "plays were copied only by the ear," "publisht in savage and ragged ornaments." But this probable cause of much corruption in *The Contention* and *The True Tragedy* will not account for (*a*) the inherent weakness of a great part of both plays; (*b*) the un-Shakespearean character of many important passages and whole scenes. On the other hand, many of these latter passages are to be found (it is true, often in an improved form) in *the Second and Third Parts of Henry VI*, as printed in the Folio. Hence arises the most complex of Shakespearean problems, and scholars are divided on the question; their views may be grouped under four heads, according as it is maintained (1) that Shakespeare was the author of the four plays;[1] (2) that Shakespeare was merely the reviser, retaining portions of his predecessor's work, altering portions, and adding passages of his own;[2] (3) that the portions common to the old plays, and 2, 3 Henry VI, were Shakespeare's contribution to the original dramas (by Marlowe, Greene, Shakespeare, and, perhaps, Peele;[3] (4) that Marlowe, Greene, and, perhaps, Peele, were the authors of the old plays, while Shakespeare and Marlowe were the revisers, working as collaborators. The fourth view has been strenuously maintained in an elaborate study of the subject, contributed to the Transactions of the new Shakespeare Society,[4] where the Marlowan passages in the Quartos are definitely attributed to Marlowe, the Greenish to Greene, and others to Peele, while the Marlowan lines which occur for the first time in 2, 3 Henry VI are accounted for by assuming that Marlowe and Shakespeare jointly revised the older plays; so that in some cases we

1 *Cp.* Knight's Essay on the subject in *The Pictorial Shakespeare.*

2 Malone, *Variorum Shakespeare,* 1821, Vol. XVIII.

3 R. Grant White, *Shakespeare* Vol. VII. *Cp.* Halliwell, *First Sketches of 2 and* 3 *Henry VI; Sh. Soc. Reprints,* 1843; Swinburne, *Study of Shakespeare;* &c.

4 Miss Jane Lee, *New Shak. Soc.,* 1876.

have Shakespeare revising the work of Marlowe and Greene, at others Shakespeare and Marlowe revising the work of Greene.[1]

It is undoubtedly true that many passages in *The Contention* and *The True Tragedie* are reminiscent of Marlowe and Greene, and that such a passage as *2 Henry VI* (IV. i. 1–11), which occurs for the first time in the Folio, is also strongly Marlowan in character, but this and similar rhetorical sketches may very well have been in existence before 1594, being omitted from the acting version of the play, and hence not found in *The Contention.* Again, the famous Jack Cade scene (Act IV. ii.) is common to the Quarto and Folio; according to this fourth view it must be attributed to Greene, but there is nothing in the whole of his extant plays to justify the ascription.

[1] Miss Lee's conjectural table of Shakespeare's and Marlowe's shares in *2, 3 Henry VI* is none the less of value, as indicating the doubtful elements of the plays, though one may not accept her final conclusions. It is here printed as simplified by Prof. Dowden (Shakespeare Primer, p. 76; *cp. Shak. Soc. Trans.,* 1876, pp. 293–303). "The table shows in detail how the revision was effected. Thus 'Act I. Sc. i. S., *M. and G.*' means that in this scene Shakespeare was revising the work of Marlowe and Greene; 'Act IV. Sc. x. S. and M., *G.*' means that here Shakespeare and Marlowe were revising the work of Greene."

"*Henry VI. Part II.*—Act I. Sc. i. S., *M. and G.;* Sc. ii. S., *G.;* Sc. iii. S., *G. and M.;* Sc. iv. S., *G.* Act II. Sc. i. S., *G.;* Sc. ii. S., *M. and* (?) *G.;* Sc. iii. S. and (?) M., *G.;* Sc. iv. S., *G.* Act III. Sc. i. S. and (?) M., *M. and G.;* Sc. ii. S. and M., *M. and G.;* Sc. iii. S., *M.* Act IV. Sc. i. M., *G.;* Sc. ii., iii., iv. S., *G.;* Sc. v. unrevised, *G.;* Sc. vi., vii., viii., ix. S., *G.;* Sc. x. S. and M., *G.* Act V. Sc. i. M. and S., *M. and* (?) *G.;* Sc. ii. M. and S., *G. and M.;* Sc. iii. S., *G. and M.*

"*Henry VI. Part III.*—Act I. Sc. i. S., *M.;* Sc. ii. M., *M.;* Sc. iii. unrevised, *M.;* Sc. iv. S., *M. and* (?) *G.* Act II. Sc. i. M. and (?) S., *M. and* (?) *G.;* Sc. ii. (?) M., *M., G., and* (?) *P.;* Sc. iii. S. and M., *M.;* Sc. iv. M., *G.;* Sc. v. S. and (?) M., *G.;* Sc. vi. M., *M. and G.* Act III. Sc. i. S., *G.;* Sc. ii. S., *G. and* (?) *M.;* Sc. iii. (?) M., *G. and* (?) *P.* Act IV. Sc. i. S., *G.;* Sc. ii. M., *M.;* Sc. iii. S., *M.;* Sc. iv. S., *G.;* Sc. v. S., (?) *G.;* Sc. vi., vii. S., *G.;* Sc. viii. S. (?). Act V. Sc. i. M., *G. and* (?) *P.;* Sc. ii. S., *M. and G.;* Sc. iii. M., *G.;* Sc. iv. S., *G. and* (?) *P.;* Sc. v., vi. S., *M.;* Sc. vii. unrevised, *G.*"

The most striking speech in the whole of 2, and 3, Henry VI—viz., York's "*She-wolf of France, but worse than wolves of France,*" is to be found *verbatim* in the older Quartos. That Marlowe was capable of this and of higher efforts none will deny, but there is in the speech, high-sounding as it is, a certain restraint and sanity, an absence of lyrical effect, which would make one hesitate before assigning it to Marlowe, even if external evidence told in favor of, and not against, his authorship. Weighing carefully all the evidence, one is inclined to see in the Quartos of 1594–5, a garbled shorthand edition of an acting version, popular at the time, perhaps chiefly by reason of Shakespeare's "additions" to earlier plays, previously unsuccessful, possibly the work of Marlowe and Greene, or of some clever disciple; the correct copy of this pirated edition may have served as basis for the revised version which Shakespeare subsequently prepared, though he did not in this instance attempt a thorough recast of his materials: the comparatively few important "additions" which appear in the Folio version, and only there, may be (i.) Shakespeare's contributions to the older plays before 1594; or (ii.) the work of the original author or authors, omitted from the acting version; or (iii.) new matter added by Shakespeare any time between 1594 and 1600 (*e.g.*, 3 Henry VI, v., ll. 1–50).[1]

DATE OF COMPOSITION

(I.) There is no mention of *Henry VI* in Mere's famous list in *Palladis Tamia* (1598), although reference is there made to so doubtful a production as *Titus Andronicus;* the omission must have been due to the vexed question of authorship, and not to any want of popularity on the part of the plays: as early as 1592 Nash in his "*Pierce Penni-*

[1] The Cambridge editors put the matter cautiously:—"We cannot agree with Malone on the one hand, that they (the old plays) contain nothing of Shakespeare's, nor with Mr. Knight on the other, that they are entirely his work; there are so many internal proofs of his having had considerable share in their composition."

less" referred to the enthusiasm of Elizabethan playgoers for the Talbot scenes:—"*How would it have joyed brave Talbot, the terror of the French, to think that after he had been two hundred years in his tomb he should triumph again on the stage, and have his bones embalmed with the tears of ten thousand spectators* (*at least at several times*) *who, in the tragedian that represents his person, behold him fresh bleeding.*" There can be little doubt that 1 *Henry VI* is here referred to, and especially the Shakespearian contributions to the play. According to Henslowe's Diary *Henry* (or *Hary Harey*, &c.) *the Sixth* was performed as a new play in March 1591; the repeated entries in 1592 fully bear out Nash's eulogy. If, as seems very probable, Henslowe's *Henry VI* is identical with 1 *Henry VI*, we have the actual date of Shakespeare's additions to an old and crude "chronicle drama," the property of Lord Strange's Company.[1]

(II.) To the same year as Nash's *Pierce Penniless* belongs Greene's posthumous tract *The Groatsworth of Wit bought with a Million of Repentance*.[2] At the end of the pamphlet, published by Chettle before Dec., 1592, occurs the famous address "To those gentlemen his quondam acquaintance," etc.[3] The three playmakers to whom his remarks are directed have been identified as (1) Christopher Marlowe, (2) Thomas Nash (or possibly Lodge), and (3) George Peele. The point of the whole passage is its attack on players in general, and on one player in particular, who was usurping the playwright's province.[4]

[1] Shakespeare in all probability belonged to this Company; in 1594 it was merged into the Lord Chamberlain's (*vide* Halliwell's *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*).

[2] *Cp. Shakspere Allusion-Books,* Part I. Edited by C. M. Ingleby for *The New Shakespeare Society* (1874).

[3] *Vide* quotation on page v.

[4] Nash, in his *Apologie for Pierce Penniless,* tells us that Greene was "chief agent" of Lord Pembroke's Company, "for he wrote more than four other." It is significant that the title-page of Quarto 1 of *The True Tragedie* expressly states that the play had been acted by this Company.

The words "*tiger's heart wrapt in a player's hide*" parody the line "*O tiger's heart wrapt in a woman's hide,*" which is to be found in both *The True Tragedy* and *3 Henry VI* (l. iv. 137). Some critics are of opinion that Greene's allusion does not necessarily imply Shakespeare's authorship of the passage in which the line occurs; this view, however, seems untenable, judging by the manner in which the quotation is introduced. Nevertheless the passage may perhaps show (i.) that Greene himself had some share in *The Contention;* (ii.) that Marlowe had likewise a share in it; (iii.) that Greene and Shakespeare could not have worked together; and (iv.) that Marlowe and Shakespeare may have worked together. One thing, however, it conclusively proves—viz., Shakespeare's connection with these plays before 1592. Furthermore, in December of the same year, Chettle apologized for the publication of Greene's attack on Shakespeare:—"Myselfe have seene his demeanour no lesse civill, than he exelent in the qualitie he professes; besides, divers of worship have reported his uprightness of dealing," etc.[1] It is not likely that the subject of this eulogy could have been a notorious plagiarist;[2] if, as some maintain, no line in the Quartos can justly be attributed to Shakespeare, he would perhaps have merited Greene's rancor. But "*it is not so, and it was not so, and God forbid that it should be so!*"

(III.) In 1599 Shakespeare concluded his Epilogue to *Henry V* with the following lines:—

1 Chettle's *Kind Heart's Dream.*

2 One does not deny that Greene may possibly have given Shakespeare "the ground" of these plays, as later on he gave him the stuff for his *Winter's Tale.* "R. B. *Gent.*" has the following significant verse in a volume entitled *Greene's Funeralls* (preserved in the Bodleian Library):—

"Greene is the pleasing object of an eye;
Greene pleased the eyes of all that looked upon him;
Greene is the ground of every painter's die;
Greene gave the ground to all that wrote upon him;
Nay more, the men that so eclipst his fame,
Purloined his plumes; can they deny the same?"

"Henry the Sixth, in infant bands crowned King
Of France and England, did this King succeed;
Whose state so many had the managing,
That they lost France and made his England bleed:
Which oft our stage hath shown: and, *for their sake,*
In your fair minds let this acceptance take."

From these words we may infer (i.) that 1 *Henry VI* preceded *Henry V;* (ii.) that probably the *Second and Third Parts of Henry VI* are also referred to; (iii.) that Shakespeare claimed in some degree these plays as his own.

(IV.) Finally, the intimate connection of 2, 3 *Henry VI* (and *The Contention* and *The True Tragedie*) with the play of *Richard III*, throws valuable light on the date of composition, and confirms the external and internal evidence for assigning Shakespeare's main contributions to these plays to the year 1591–2, or thereabouts (*Cp. Preface to "Richard the Third"*).

SOURCES OF THE PLOT

The materials for 1, 2, 3 *Henry VI* were mainly derived from (i) Holinshed's *Chronicles*, and (ii.) Hall's *Chronicle;* the account of the civil wars in the former work is merely an abridgment of the latter; the author's attention would therefore, naturally, be directed to the chief history of the period covered by the plays [*cp.* title-page of the first edition, 1548:—"The Union of the two noble and illustre Famelies of Lancastre and Yorke, being long in continual discension for the croune of this noble realme, with all the actes done in bothe the tymes of the princes, bothe of the one linage and of the other, beginnyng at the tyme of Kyng Henry the fowerth, the first Author of this division, and so successively proceadyng to the reigne of the high and prudent Kyng Henry the eighth, the vndubitate flower and very heire of both the sayd linages"].[1] Although in no part of *Henry*

[1] Knight points out an excellent instance of Hall's influence, as compared with Holinshed's; in the latter's narrative of the interview between Talbot and his son, before they both fell at the battle of

VI is Holinshed's *Chronicles* followed "with that particularity which we have in Shakespeare's later historical plays," it is noteworthy that it is the primary source of *Part I.*, the secondary of *Parts II. and III.* (On the historical aspect of the plays, *cp. Commentaries on the Historical Plays of Shakespeare*, Courtenay; Warner's *English History in Shakespeare.*)

DURATION OF ACTION

The time of the *First Part* is eight days, with intervals; the *Second Part* covers fourteen days, represented on the stage, with intervals suggesting a period in all of, at the outside, a couple of years; in the *Third Part* twenty days are represented; the whole period is about twelve months.

HISTORIC TIME

Part I. deals with the period from "the death of Henry V, August 31, 1422, to the treaty of marriage between Henry VI and Margaret, end of 1444." *Part II.* covers about ten years, from April 22, 1445, to May 23, 1455. *Part III.* commences "on the day of the battle of St. Albans, May 23, 1455, and ends on the day on which Henry VI's body was exposed in St. Paul's, May 22, 1471. Queen Margaret, however, was not ransomed and sent to France till 1475." (*Cp.* Daniel's "Time Analysis," *New Shak. Soc.*, 1877–79.)

Chatillon, we have no dialogue, but simply, "Many words he used to persuade him to have saved his life." In Hall we have the very words which the poet has paraphrased.

INTRODUCTION

By Henry Norman Hudson, A.M.

In 1592 Thomas Nash put forth a pamphlet, entitled *Pierce Penniless his Supplication to the Devil*, in which occurs the following: "Nay, what if I prove plays to be no extreme, but a rare exercise of virtue? First, for the subject of them: for the most part it is borrowed out of our English Chronicles, wherein our forefathers' valiant acts, that have been long buried in rusty brass and worm-eaten books, are revived, and they themselves raised from the grave of oblivion, and brought to plead their aged honors in open presence; than which what can be a sharper reproof to these degenerate days of ours? . . . In plays, all cosenages, all cunning drifts, over-gilded with outward holiness, all stratagems of war, all the canker-worms that breed in the rust of peace, are most lively anatomized. They show the ill success of treason, the fall of hasty climbers, the wretched end of usurpers, the misery of civil dissensions, and how just God is evermore in punishing murder. And to prove every one of these allegations could I propound the circumstances of this play and that, if I meant to handle this theme otherwise than *obiter*."

This passage yields a clear inference that dramas founded on English history were a favorite species of entertainment on the London stage in 1592; and in the same connection Nash speaks of them as being resorted to in the afternoon by "men that are their own masters, as gentlemen of the court, the inns of court, and the number of captains and soldiers about London." Historical plays, being in such special request, would naturally lead

off in whatsoever of dramatic improvement was then forthcoming; and in fact the earliest growth of excellence appears to have been in this department. For in this, as in other things, the demand would needs in a great measure regulate the supply, and thus cause the first advances to be made in the line where, to the common interest of dramatic representation was added the further charm of national feeling and recollection, and where a large patriotism, looking before and after, would find itself at home. Hence, no doubt, the early and rapid growth in England of the historical drama, as a species quite distinct from the old forms of tragedy and comedy. Nor, in this view of the matter, is there anything incredible in the tradition reported by Gildon, that Shakespeare, in a conversation with Ben Jonson, said that, "finding the nation generally very ignorant of history, he wrote his historical plays in order to instruct the people in that particular." That he cared to make the stage a place of instruction as well as of pastime, appears in his Prologue to *Henry VIII*, where he says,—"Such as give their money out of hope they may believe, may here find truth too." And something of this substantial benefit, it seems, was soon realized; for in Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, 1612, we are told,—"Plays have made the ignorant more apprehensive, taught the unlearned the knowledge of many famous histories, instructed such as cannot read in the discovery of our English Chronicles."

Of the historical plays referred to by Nash in the quotation with which we began, very few specimens have come down to us. In our Introduction to the *First Part of Henry IV* is a passage quoted from the same pamphlet, showing that one of the plays he had in mind was *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth*, which is known to have been on the stage as early as 1588, because the leading comic part was sustained by Tarleton, who died that year. In our Introduction to *King John*, also, we see that that play was founded on an older one entitled *The Troublesome Reign of King John*, which was printed in 1591.

In further illustration of this point, we have another passage in Nash's pamphlet: "How would it have joyed brave Talbot, the terror of the French, to think that after he had lien two hundred year in his tomb he should triumph again on the stage; and have his bones new embalmed with the tears of ten thousand spectators at least, (at several times,) who, in the tragedian that represents his person, behold him fresh bleeding." Which evidently refers to *The First Part of Henry the Sixth*, wherein the last scenes of Talbot and his son are by far the most impressive and memorable passages, and are fraught with a pathos, which, in that day of unjaded and fresh sensibility, could scarce fail to produce such an effect as is here ascribed to them. Inferior as that play is to many that followed it in the same line and from the same pen, no English historical drama of so early a date has survived, that approaches it, either as a work of art, or in the elements of dramatic effect. To audiences that were wont to be entertained by such frigid and artificial, or such coarse and vapid performances as then occupied the boards, *The First Part of Henry VI* must have been irresistibly attractive; a play which, perhaps for the first time, gave the English people "a stage ample and true with life," where, instead of learned echoes from classical antiquity, their ears took in the clear free tones of nature, and where swollen verbiage and strutting extravagance were replaced with the quiet power of simplicity, and with thoughts springing up fresh, home-born, and beautiful from the soil of common sense. That such was indeed the case, may be inferred from the words of Nash, and is confirmed by Henslowe's *Diary*, which ascertains that a play called *Henry the Sixth* was acted by "Lord Strange's men," March 3, 1592, and was repeated twelve times in the course of that season. As this was not the company to which Shakespeare belonged, and in which he held a respectable place as joint proprietor in 1589, it seems but reasonable to presume that the play had gone through a course of representation by his own company before it was permitted to the use of another; un-

less we suppose, what is indeed possible, that Henslowe's notes refer to another play on the same subject, gotten up perhaps in consequence of the success of the former at a rival theater. At all events, the words of Nash, which could scarce point to any other than Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, and which clearly regard it as being already well known, fully warrant the conclusion that the play was written as early as 1589 or 1590.

The First Part of Henry VI is not known to have been printed in any shape, till it appeared in the folio of 1623, where the first four acts are regularly marked, as are also the scenes in the third act, but at the beginning of the fifth act we have merely *Scena Secunda*, and at the beginning of the last scene *Actus Quintus*. A question has been raised, whether the play was originally written as it is there printed. On this point we have no means of forming even an opinion, other than such probability as may accrue from the fact that several of the Poet's earlier efforts afterwards underwent revisal, the effects of which are in some cases quite apparent in certain inequalities of style and execution, some parts evincing a riper faculty and a more practiced hand, and being especially charged with those peculiarities which all men have agreed to call Shakespearian, as if they were written when by repeated trial he had learned to trust his powers, and dared to be more truly himself. The play in hand, however, yields little if any argument that way, there being no such inequalities but what might well enough result from the ordinary differences of matter and of mental state; unless, perhaps, something may be gathered from such incoherences of representation as we discover in Joan of Arc, the latter end of whose character does not very well remember the beginning. The play, in short, though not wanting in what distinguishes Shakespeare from all other known writers of that time, has little of that which sometimes distinguishes Shakespeare from himself.

The authorship of *King Henry VI* was for a long time unquestioned, till at last Theobald started a doubt thereof,

which, mainly through the dogged industry of Malone, has since grown into a general disbelief. This conclusion, and the arguments whereby it is reached, are built altogether on internal evidence, and proceed for the most part upon a strange oversight of what seems plain enough, namely, that Shakespeare's genius, great as it confessedly was, must needs have had to pass a time in youth and pupilage. The main points in Malone's argument, the only ones indeed of any real weight, are the following: That the diction and versification are of another color than we find in Shakespeare's genuine dramas, the sense almost uniformly pausing or concluding at the end of every line, and the verse scarce ever having a redundant syllable; and that the classical allusions are more frequent than in any one of his plays on English history, and do not rise naturally out of the subject, but seem inserted to show the writer's learning; the play thus being in all these respects more like those preceding Shakespeare, than like those which he is known to have written: That there are several expressions which prove the author to have been familiar with Hall's *Chronicles*, whereas Holinshed was Shakespeare's historian: That in Act iii. sc. 4, the king is made to say,—"When I was young, (as yet I am not old,) *I do remember how my father said;*" but Shakespeare knew that Henry could not remember any thing of his father, for in the Second Part, Act iv. sc. 9, he makes him say,—"But I was made a king *at nine months old:*" again, in Act ii. sc. 5, of the play in hand, the earl of Cambridge is said to have "levied an army" against his sovereign; whereas Shakespeare in *King Henry V* represents the matter as it really was.

We have endeavored to give Malone's reasons with all the strength of statement they will bear, for, in truth, they are at best so unequal to the service put upon them, that one may well be loth to state them at all, lest he should seem wanting in candor; at all events, to understate them would be more apt to provoke a charge of unfairness, than any possible overstatement to make them bear out the conclusion. Nevertheless, for these reasons, or, if there were

others, they have not been given, a large number of critics and editors have rested in the same judgment, among whom are found such respectable names as Morgann, Drake, Singer, and Hallam. Morgann speakes of the play as "that drum-and-trumpet thing,—written, doubtless, or rather exhibited, long before Shakespeare was born, though afterwards repaired and furbished up by him with here and there a little sentiment and diction." Hallam says,—"In default of a more probable claimant, I have sometimes been inclined to assign *The First Part of Henry VI* to Greene." And Drake proposed that the play should be excluded from future editions of the Poet, as "offering no trace of any finishing strokes from the master-bard." These authorities, backed up as they are by a host of concurring names, must be our excuse for stating, in the Introduction to *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, that "the three parts of *Henry VI* were adapted from preëxisting stock copies, into which Shakespeare distilled something of the life and spirit of his genius;" a conclusion which cannot well survive a careful sifting of the arguments whereon it has been based.

For, in the first place, the diction and versification have not the qualities specified by Malone in nearly so great a degree as his statement would lead one to suppose. In variety of pause and structure, the verse, though nowise comparable to what the Poet afterwards wrote, is a good deal in advance of any preceding dramas that have come down to us from other hands. On this score, the play may be safely affirmed to differ much less, for example, from Shakespeare's *King John* and *Richard II*, than these do from his *Henry VIII;* or than *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* and *The Merchant of Venice* from *The Tempest* and *The Winter's Tale.* Yet in these cases of course no one has ever thought of inferring diversity of authorship from difference of style. Besides, what might we expect, but that in these respects his first performances would be more like what others had done before, than what was afterwards done by himself? Would he not naturally be-

gin by writing very much as those about him wrote, and thus by practice gradually learn to write better? Surely his style must needs draw towards such models as were before him, till he had time to form a style of his own; so that, had the play in hand borne less of resemblance to such as then held the stage, this would have been a strong argument that it was not the work of a beginner, but of one who had attained considerable experience and proficiency in his art.—As to the classical allusions, Malone here brought the power of figures to bear, and found there were just twenty-two in the play. He also figured out, that of something more than six thousand lines in the Second and Third Parts, Shakespeare was the sole author of somewhat less than one-third; and he took the pains to mark Shakespeare's lines with asterisks for the convenience of all future readers and editors. Knight's *Shakespeare* has a very learned and elaborate essay, wherein Malone's argument is thoroughly knocked to pieces, showing, among other things, that in the lines thus painfully marked there are no less than eighteen classical allusions and quotations, and those not a whit more apt and natural than Malone's twenty-two. Which seems to finish that part of the argument.

Again, touching the *Chronicles* used, it is to be observed that Holinshed's were first published in 1577, when Shakespeare was in his fourteenth year, and Hall's about thirty years earlier; and it is quite probable that the Poet became familiar with the elder chronicler in his boyhood, before the other got into circulation. Moreover, Holinshed embodies in his own work the greater part of Hall, insomuch that, on most of the subjects handled by the Poet, the same matter, and in nearly the same words, is found in both chroniclers, thus often making it uncertain to which of them he was immediately indebted. Remains but to add on this point, that Shakespeare's unquestioned dramas furnish numerous instances of acquaintance with Hall.

Finally, as to the discrepancies of representation, which Malone cites in proof of his point, these might indeed make

somewhat for the purpose, but that similar discrepancies are not unfrequently to be met with in the Poet's undoubted plays. For example, in this very play, Act i. sc. 3, Gloster says to Beaufort,—"I'll canvass thee in thy broad *cardinal's hat;*" and the Mayor a little after,—"This *cardinal's* more haughty than the devil:" yet in Act v. sc. 1, Exeter exclaims,—"What! is my lord of Winchester install'd, and call'd unto a *cardinal's degree?*" as if that were the first notice he had of his brother's advancement. Does this infer that the first and fifth acts of this play were written by several hands? Another still more material discrepancy is adduced by Knight. It occurs in *The Second Part of Henry the Fourth,* Act iii. sc. 1, where the following is put into the mouth of Bolingbroke:

> "But which of you was by,
> (You, cousin Neville, as I may remember,)
> When Richard, with his eye brimfull of tears,
> Then check'd and rated by Northumberland,
> Did speak these words, now prov'd a prophecy?
> 'Northumberland, thou ladder, by the which
> My cousin Bolingbroke ascends my throne;'—
> *Though then, God knows, I had no such intent.*"

This refers to what took place in *King Richard II,* Act v. sc. 1, which was some time after the same Bolingbroke had said to the parliament,—"*In God's name I'll ascend the regal throne.*" It is hardly needful to add, that on the principle of Malone's reasoning the two plays in question could not have been by the same author. Several other inaccuracies of this kind are remarked in our notes, and indeed occur too often in these plays to prove any thing but that either the Poet or his characters sometimes made mistakes.

Thus it appears that upon examination Malone's argument really comes to nothing. But even if it were at all points sound, still it has not force enough to shake, much less to overthrow, the evidence on the other side. Of this evidence the leading particulars are thus stated by Mr. Collier: "When Heminge and Condell published the folio

of 1623, many of Shakespeare's contemporaries, authors, actors, and auditors, were alive; and the player-editors, if they would have been guilty of the dishonesty, would hardly have committed the folly, of inserting a play in their volume which was not his production. If we imagine the frequenters of theaters to have been comparatively ignorant upon such a point, living authors and living actors must have been aware of the truth; and in the face of these Heminge and Condell would not have ventured to appropriate to Shakespeare what had really come from the pen of another. That tricks of the kind were sometimes played by fraudulent booksellers, in single plays, is certainly true; but Heminge and Condell were actors of repute, and men of character: they were presenting to the world, in an important volume, scattered performances, in order to "keep the memory of so worthy a friend and fellow alive, as was our Shakespeare;" and we cannot believe they would have included any drama to which he had no title." It is further considerable, that Ben Jonson lent to their volume the sanction of his great name;—a man whose long intimacy with the Poet gave him every chance to know the truth, and whose unquestionable honesty forbids the thought of his having endorsed any thing savoring of fraud.

Furthermore, we have words from Shakespeare himself which can scarce be interpreted otherwise than as claiming *The First Part of Henry VI* for his own. Which words occur in the Epilogue to *Henry V:*

> "Henry the Sixth, in infant bands crown'd king
> Of France and England, did this king succeed;
> Whose state so many had the managing,
> That they lost France, and made his England bleed:
> *Which oft our stage hath shown;* and for their sake,
> In your fair minds let this acceptance take."

The sense of which manifestly is, that "the events whereby France was lost have been often set forth in plays of our writing;" it being rather unlikely that the Poet would thus

beg a favorable reception for his play, because a play written by somebody else, and on another subject, had formerly been well received.

Besides this strong external evidence, concurrent therewith is internal evidence more than enough to counterpoise Malone's argument. This, to be sure, is not of a kind to be discovered by mere verbal criticism, but few, it is to be presumed, will think the less of it on that account. Several parts of the play evidently look to a continuation, and are strangely out of place and unmeaning, but that they are to reappear in their after results. Such, especially, are the fourth scene of Act ii., where in the Temple Garden the two factions assume the white rose and the red as their respective badges; the interview of Mortimer and Richard in the next scene; the quarrel of Vernon and Basset in Act iv. sc. 1; and, above all, the undertaking of a marriage between Henry and Margaret in the last scene of the play. These scenes, be it observed, more than any others in the play, are of the author's invention; which puts it quite out of reason that they should have been meant to end with themselves: unless designed and regarded as the beginnings of something yet to come, they are manifest impertinences, having nothing to do with the action of the play, viewed by itself. Of course the promises thus made are fulfilled in the plays immediately following. Here, then, we have the lines of an intrinsic connection between the several plays of the series, running them all together as parts of a larger whole. In short, the First Part is strictly continuous with the Second and Third, as these in turn are with *King Richard III;* an unbroken harmony and integrity not only of design and action, but of composition and characterization, pervading the four plays, and knitting together in the unity of individual authorship.

This matter will be unfolded more at length in our Introductions to the Second and Third Parts, where we shall hope to make appear how each preceding play of the series runs into the following, while, in turn, the latter in like manner carries out and completes the former. For the

present, then, it shall suffice to state by way of instance in point, that in the character of the king we have the same conception carried out in most orderly and consistent development through the three plays that bear his name. Than which, perhaps nothing could more clearly show how wide Malone is of the truth in assuming, as he all along does assume, that the Second and Third Parts were not written, either in their original or their amended form, by the same man who wrote the First. In justice, however, to Malone's understanding, it should be added, that he himself saw, what he had been blind indeed not to see, that the three plays are drawn in together as one continuous whole. Speaking of the First Part, he says,—"At this distance of time it is impossible to ascertain on what principle Heminge and Condell admitted it into their volume; but I suspect they gave it a place as *a necessary introduction to the two other parts*, and because Shakespeare had made some slight alterations, and written a few lines in it." How unlikely it is that Shakespeare should at any time of his life have written a play and left it in such a state, as that a play by some other man should form a *necessary introduction* to it, is more obvious than to need insisting upon. Yet this, strongly as it infers the point in question, is but half the argument; for it may be safely affirmed that the First Part is not more necessary as an introduction to the Second and Third, than these latter are as a supplement and continuation of the First. We scarce know which were harder of belief, that Shakespeare should have so fitly carried out another's design, or that another should have designed so aptly for Shakespeare's carrying-out.

Two other points there are that seem to require a passing notice; one of which is, the frequent performance, as remarked above, of a play called *Henry the Sixth*, by Lord Strange's men at the Rose, in 1592;—an establishment with which Shakespeare never had any connection. This is conjectured to be the play referred to by Nash in a passage already quoted, and which has come down to

us as Shakespeare's, though written by somebody else. The argument of course supposes that a manuscript play belonging to one company was not likely to be had for use at a rival theater. Yet, as we have seen, Malone thinks that "Shakespeare had made some slight alterations, and written a few lines in it;" Morgann, that it was "repaired and furbished up by him with here and there a little sentiment and diction." Now it does not well appear, but that one of Shakespeare's manuscripts may have got into the hands of Lord Strange's men, as easily as one of theirs into his; and he must have got hold of it before he *repaired* it. Besides, it is clear that at that time the same play, though yet unprinted, was sometimes acted by different companies; for in the title-page to the first edition of *Titus Andronicus* we have the words,—"As it hath sundry times been played by the Right Honourable the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Sussex, and the Lord Chamberlain their Servants." Mr. Collier observes, accordingly,—"It is probable that prior to the year 1592 or 1593 the copyright of plays was little recognized; and that various companies were performing the same dramas at the same time, although perhaps they had been bought by one company for its sole use."

Again; Coleridge, as may be seen by a note on the passage, delivers a most confident opinion that the first speech in the play could not have been written by Shakespeare; though Mr. Collier informs us that in his *Lectures* in 1815 he quoted many lines which he thought Shakespeare must have written. Now our ear does indeed tell us that the metre of the passage in question is not Shakespearian; but this is a very different thing from telling us that Shakespeare could not have written it. The truth is, Shakespeare has many passages which seem to us very un-Shakespearian; and, as might be expected, both the quantity and the degree of such are in proportion as he was unpractised in his art. How far unlike himself he may have written at first, when, as must needs have been the case, he followed rather the style in vogue than the bent of his

genius, our ear, we freely confess, is incompetent to decide. Surely it was most natural that in his first efforts Shakespeare should endeavor to surpass his contemporaries in their own style; and, for aught we know, he may have had as great facility of imitation as Burke, who, it is well known, wrote a pamphlet so much in the style of Lord Bolingbroke, that Bolingbroke himself might almost have mistaken it for his own. Perhaps no one, judging by the ear alone, or from the internal evidence merely, would ever believe that Burke's Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful was written by the same man as Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France.

These considerations, and such as these, growing out of a larger criticism than that used by Malone, have prevailed with many to withhold them from the more general opinion. To say nothing of Steevens, who in these matters commonly shaped his course with a view to cross Malone, the better discernment of Johnson, Hazlitt, Knight, Verplanck, and of the German critics, Schlegel, Tieck, and Ulrici, has held them fast to the old belief.

It must be owned, indeed, that *The First Part of Henry VI*, granting it to be Shakespeare's, can add nothing to his reputation. But it may throw not a little light on his mental history, showing, along with several other plays, that his hand waxed cunning and mighty by long labor and discipline; that in forming him for the office of universal teacher art had perhaps as great a share as nature; and that Ben Jonson knew what he was about, when saying with reference to him,—"For a good poet's made, as well as born." Moreover, the play yields acceptable testimony that Shakespeare, following the fashion of his time, had at first an excess of classical allusion; that even his genius was not in the outset proof against the then besetting vice of learned pedantry; thus guiding us to the reasonable conclusion, that his later freedom from such excess and pedantry was the result of judgment, not of ignorance. Malone took credit to himself, that he had vindicated Shakespeare from the reproach of having written so poor a

performance; not perceiving, apparently, that such a course as he pursued must needs disserve the virtue of the man a great deal faster than it could serve the genius of the poet. It will be better seen hereafter, that he did in fact but vindicate him *into* the reproach of having been the most impudent literary thief that ever went "unwhipp'd of justice."

The Poet's more material drawings from history in this play will be set forth from time to time in the form of notes. It will be observed that he took much greater freedom than usual with the actual order of events, marshalling them here and there upon no settled principle, or upon one which it is not easy to discover. The play extends over the whole period from the death of Henry V, in August, 1422, when his son was but nine months old, till the marriage of the latter with Margaret of Anjou, which took place in October, 1444. In some cases the scattered events of several years are drawn together and presented in one view, as in the first scene, where we have the angry rupture of Gloster and Beaufort occurring at the same time with the funeral of Henry V, and reports coming in of losses in France, some of which did not take place till after the events represented in several of the subsequent scenes. In like manner, in the early part of the play the king is made much older, and in the latter part much younger, than he really was; the effect of which, as it was probably meant to be, is, to give an impression of greater unity than were compatible with a more literal adherence to facts. So, again, the death of the Talbots is drawn back many years before the time of its actual occurrence, in order, as would seem, that the foreign wars, and the disasters attending them, may be despatched in the First Part, and thus leave the following parts free for a more undistracted representation of the civil wars. And there are many other similar misplacements of events, which are more fully noticed as they occur.

Upon the whole, the leading purpose of the drama, considered by itself, appears to be, to set forth the growth of

faction in England, the gradual crippling of the national energies thence resulting, and the consequent loss of the conquests in France; how domestic strife still propagated mischiefs abroad, while these mischiefs in turn envenomed that strife; and how this long train of evils started into action as soon as the heroic spirit was withdrawn, in whom all the powers of the nation had stood and worked smoothly together, sweeping every thing before them. Such being the scope of the play, so far as that scope ends with the play itself, we may not unfitly apply to it one of Coleridge's most comprehensive passages. Discoursing how "a drama may be properly historical," he says,—"The events themselves are immaterial, otherwise than as the clothing and manifestation of the spirit that is working within. In this mode, the unity resulting from succession is destroyed, but is supplied by an unity of a higher order, which connects the events by reference to the workers, gives a reason for them in the motives, and presents men in their causative character."

In comparison, however, of the Poet's other histories, it must be confessed that the arrangement of this play is inartificial and clumsy, the characterization loose and sketchy, and the action inconsequential; there being many changes of scene which involve no real progress, and often no reason appearing in the thing itself but that the order might just as well have been quite other than it is: all which, to be sure, is but an argument that the author had not then acquired the power of moulding the stiff materials of history to the laws of art and the conditions of dramatic effect. Yet, though, as a whole, the piece be somewhat rambling and unknit, several of the parts are replete with poetic animation, many of the characters are firmly outlined, and in some of them, especially Beaufort and Talbot, the coloring is strong and well-laid; though, perhaps, in regard to the former, the conception has more of dramatic vigor than of historic truth.

In the character of the heroic maiden we seem to have an apt instance of struggle between the genius of the poet

and the prejudices of the Englishman. For it is observable that many of the noblest thoughts and images in the drama come from her; and in her interview with Burgundy the Poet could scarce have put into her mouth a higher strain of patriotic eloquence, had she been regarded as the patron saint of his father-land. But to have represented her throughout as a heaven-sent deliverer, besides being repugnant to the hereditary sentiment of the author, had been sure to offend the prepossessions of his audience. It is to this cause, probably, that we should attribute whatsoever of discrepancy there may be in the representation. All that is pure and beautiful in her life as depicted in the play resulted, no doubt, from the Poet's universality of mind and heart overbearing for a time the strong natural, and, we may add, honorable current of national feeling. Nor should it be unremembered that herein Shakespeare's course was against the whole drift of the *Chronicles;* for the account they give of her is indeed consistent, but then it is consistently bad. How the catastrophe of her career in the drama may have affected a contemporary English audience, we of course have no means of knowing: but to us her behavior thereabouts seems nowise of her character, but rather a piece of, perhaps justifiable, hypocrisy, taken up as a sort of forlorn hope, and so forming no part of herself; the impression of her foregoing life thus triumphing over the seeming sacrifice of honor and virtue at its close. What a subject she would have been for Shakespeare's hand, could he have done, what no good man has been able to do, namely, viewed her in the pure light of universal humanity, free from the colorings and refractings of national prepossession!

Amidst the general comparative tameness of the drama in hand, several scenes and parts of scenes may be specified as holding out something more than a promise of Shakespeare's ripened power. Such are the maiden's description of herself in Act i. sc. 2, beginning,—"Dauphin, I am by birth a shepherd's daughter;"—and Talbot's account of his entertainment by the French while their pris-

oner, in sc. 4 of the same Act, where the story relishes at every turn of the teller's character, and the words seem thoroughly steeped in his individuality. Not less admirable, perhaps, in its way, is the pungent and pithy dialogue between Winchester and Gloster, Warwick, and Somerset, at the opening of Act iii., where the words strike fire all round, and where the persons, because they dare not speak, therefore out of their pent-up wrath speak all the more spitefully. Again, of whole scenes, the third in Act ii., between old Talbot and the countess of Auvergne, is in the conception and the execution a genuine stroke of Shakespearian art, full of dramatic spirit, and making a strong point of stage-effect in the most justifiable sense. And in the Temple Garden scene, which is the fourth of the same Act, we have a concentration of true dramatic life issuing in a series of forcible and characteristic flashes, where every word tells with singular effect both as a development of present temper and a germ of many tragic events. And, on the higher principles of art, how fitting it was that this outburst of smothered rage, this distant ominous grumbling of the tempest, should be followed by the subdued and plaintive tones that issue from the prison of the aged Mortimer, where we have the very spring and cause of the gathering storm discoursed in a strain of melancholy music, and a virtual sermon of revenge and slaughter breathed from dying lips. And of the fifth, sixth, and seventh scenes in Act iv., also, we may well say with Dr. Johnson, "If we take these *scenes* from Shakespeare, to whom shall they be given?"

The chief merits of the play are well stated, though doubtless with some exaggeration, by Schlegel, the judiciousness of whose criticisms in the main hath been so often approved, that no apology seems needed for quoting him. "Shakespeare's choice," says he, "fell first on this period of English history, so full of misery and horrors of every kind, because to a young poet's mind the pathetic is naturally more suitable than the characteristic. We do not here find the whole maturity of his genius, yet certainly

its whole strength. Careless as to the seeming unconnectedness of contemporary events, he bestows little attention on preparation and development: all the figures follow in rapid succession, and announce themselves emphatically for what we ought to take them. The First Part contains but the forming of the parties of the White and Red Rose, under which blooming ensigns such bloody deeds were afterwards perpetrated; the varying results of the war in France principally fill the stage. The wonderful savior of her country, Joan of Arc, is portrayed by Shakespeare with an Englishman's prejudice: yet he at first leaves it doubtful whether she has not in reality an heavenly mission; she appears in the pure glory of virgin heroism; by her supernatural eloquence—and this circumstance is of the Poet's invention—she wins over the duke of Burgundy to the French cause; afterwards, corrupted by vanity and luxury, she has recourse to hellish fiends, and comes to a miserable end. To her is opposed Talbot, a rough iron warrior, who moves us the more powerfully, as, in the moment when he is threatened with inevitable death, all his care is tenderly directed to save his son, who performs his first deeds of arms under his eye. The interview between the aged Mortimer in prison, and Richard Plantagenet, unfolds the claims of the latter to the throne, and forms, by itself, a beautiful tragic elegy."

COMMENTS

By Shakespearean Scholars

HENRY VI

The heroic days of the fifth Henry, when the play opens, belong to the past; but their memory survives in the hearts and in the vigorous muscles of the great lords and earls who surround the king. He only, who most should have treasured and augmented his inheritance of glory and of power, is insensible to the large responsibilities and privileges of his place. He is cold in great affairs; his supreme concern is to remain blameless. Free from all greeds and ambitions, he yet is possessed by egoism, the egoism of timid saintliness. His virtue is negative, because there is no vigorous basis of manhood within him out of which heroic saintliness might develop itself. For fear of what is wrong, he shrinks from what is right. This is not the virtue ascribed to the nearest followers of "the Faithful and True" who in his righteousness doth judge and make war. Henry is passive in the presence of evil, and weeps. He would keep his garments clean; but the garments of God's soldier-saints, who do not fear the soils of struggle, gleam with a higher, intenser purity. "His eyes were as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns; . . . And the armies which were in heaven followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean." These soldiers in heaven have their representatives in earth; and Henry was not one of these. Zeal must come before charity, and then when charity comes it will appear as a self-denial. But Henry knows nothing of zeal; and he is amiable, not charitable.—Dowden, *Shakspere—His Mind and Art.*

JOAN OF ARC

Only in one case does Shakespeare—according to our modern ideas—seem to have gone too far and to have been unjust, viz., in his delineation of Joan of Arc's character; but in this he has closely followed his authority, whether we assume it to have been Hall or Holinshed. La Pucelle's character was, up to the seventeenth century, a closed book even to her own countrymen, and has only in recent days by documentary evidence been revealed to us in its full purity and beauty. But even though this want of a correct knowledge of the case were not an unquestionable excuse for the poet, still his error vanishes, and appears as nothing, when compared with the filth which Voltaire—her own countryman—has cast upon the character of La Pucelle. And even though Voltaire's wit were a hundred times more poignant, it would never clear him of this wrong.—Elze, *William Shakespeare.*

Taking the character [of Joan la Pucelle] as it stands, —the embodiment of motives and disposition in harmony with deeds that the chroniclers assert as facts, it is hard to say that it is other than consistent and natural. The world is now in possession of numerous detailed examples of religious enthusiasm and self-deception combining with ambitious or political purpose in all their strange and mingling manifestations both of the mind and body, and if we scrutinize the most fortunate of them the result is much the same as the catastrophe of Joan even as represented in the play. The false impressions and assumptions that inflame the enthusiast work wonders in their strength, but their weakness tells at last. The self-conviction of the special choice and guidance and inspiration of heaven suffers rude shocks in an extended course, as rude as the blindest fatalism that hardens its purposes by repetition of the phrase of a destiny, a mission or a star. Rarely indeed does the vainly exalted thought of special heavenly protection es-

cape reversal by as depressing a belief of desertion and forsakenness, and a life of heroism may easily close in vacillation, or despair, or degrading attempt to keep up by foul means, or trickery, the influence that only worked wonders, and was victorious when it sprung spontaneously. Still the dramatist has been more tender to Joan in one respect than the historians, and he rejects the fact they charge her with, of shamefully slaughtering, out of spite and in cold blood, her surrendered prisoner.—Lloyd, "*Critical Essays on the Plays of Shakespeare.*"

We have yet to consider the Joan of Arc scenes, especially V. iv.; here we are prejudiced not so much against the verse, as against the treatment of the fair maid of France, as we now know her; we hope the writer is not Shakespeare; we might hope it could be no writer at all. I will state some considerations for and against: Shakespeare, at any rate, has sanctioned the presence of this scene; that goes for a good deal; next, (1) many English characters meet with harsh treatment in these early chronicles and plays, and Joan was not English, but French; (2) more important still, she was regarded as a witch; (3) the sketch of Joan in this play, if not less repulsive than that of the chronicles, makes some attempt at justice (lines 36–53); (4) we may fairly say that the writer of the drama would be compelled either to omit the character altogether (which was impossible), or to bow before (a) the Chronicles, (b) popular belief and prejudice, (c) what was probably, at least in part, his own mistaken conviction. However, for the relief of any who may think Shakespeare's honor is threatened by this scene, I may add that if we place it under the microscope we find that only the lines above mentioned, 36–53, bear any distinct marks of Shakespeare's handling; again I will support my general statement: lines 52, 53,

> Whose maiden blood, thus rigorously effused,
> Will cry for vengeance at the gates of heaven,

may be compared with "Richard II," I. i. 116–118:

> Whose blood, like sacrificing Abel's, cries
> Even from the tongueless caverns of the earth
> To me for justice and rough chastisement;

and in the same play "Heaven" will "rain hot vengeance" on offenders' heads.—Luce, *Handbook to Shakespeare's Works.*

LORD TALBOT

Joan's death appears the organic contrast to that of the Earl of Salisbury, of Lord Talbot, and his son. Lord Talbot is obviously the noblest character in the whole play, a rough and vigorous knight; battle and war, self-devoted patriotism, knightly honor and bravery, these have constituted his entire life; all higher ideas seem beyond him; he knows how to win a battle, but not how to carry on a war; he is an excellent military captain, but no general, no chief, because, although valiant and even discreet and prudent (as is proved by his interview with the Countess of Auvergne), he does not possess either presence of mind, creative power, or a clear insight into matters. This, together with the harshness and roughness of his virtue, which has in it something of the rage of the lion, is his weak point, and proves the cause of his death. His power was not equal to the complicated circumstances and the depravity of the age; under the iron rod of chastisement, he became equally unbending and iron; he is the representative of the rage and ferocity of the war, to which he falls a victim because he is wholly absorbed in it and therefore unable to become the master in directing it. In such days, however, the honorable death of a noble character proves a blessing; victory and pleasure are found in death when life succumbs to the superior power of evil, to the weight and misery of a decline which affects both the nation and the state.—Ulrici, *Shakspeare's Dramatic Art.*

A COMPARISON WITH LATER PLAYS

If we take the piece purely in a dramatic point of view, and consider it as a work for the stage, it affords, as we before said, an excellent lesson in its contrast to Shakespeare's general mode of proceeding. There is here no unity of action, indeed not even, as in Pericles, a unity of person. If we look strictly into the single scenes, they are so loosely united, that whole series may be expunged without injuring the piece, indeed perhaps not without improving it—an attempt which even in Pericles could not be carried far. We need only superficially perceive this, in order to feel how far removed the dramatic works of art previous to Shakespeare were from that strong and systematic inner structure, which admits of no dismemberment without distortion. . . .

If we separate all the scenes between York and Somerset, Mortimer and York, Margaret and Suffolk, and read them by themselves, we feel that we are looking upon a series of scenes which exhibit Shakespeare's style in his historical plays just in the manner in which we should have expected him to have written at the commencement of his career. We see the skilful and witty turn of speech and the germ of his figurative language; we perceive already the fine clever repartees and the more choice form of expression; in Mortimer's death-scene and in the lessons of his deeply-dissembled silent policy, which while dying he transmits to York, we see, with Hallam, all the genuine feeling and knowledge of human nature which belongs to Shakespeare in similar pathetic or political scenes in his other dramas; all, not in that abundance and masterly power which he subsequently manifested, but certainly in the germ which prefigures future perfection. These scenes contrast decidedly with the trivial, tedious war scenes and the alternate bombastic and dull disputes between Gloster and Winchester; they adhere to the common highway of historical poetry, though they have sufficient of the freshness of

youthful art to furnish Schiller in his "Maid of Orleans" with many beautiful traits, and indeed with the principal idea of his drama.—Gervinus, *Shakespeare Commentaries.*

THE FIRST PART OF KING HENRY VI

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

KING HENRY *the Sixth*
DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, *uncle to the King, and Protector*
DUKE OF BEDFORD, *uncle to the King, and Regent of France*
THOMAS BEAUFORT, *Duke of Exeter, great-uncle to the King*
HENRY BEAUFORT, *great-uncle to the King, Bishop of Winchester, and afterwards Cardinal*
JOHN BEAUFORT, *Earl, afterwards Duke, of Somerset*
RICHARD PLANTAGENET, *son of Richard, late Earl of Cambridge, afterwards Duke of York*
EARL OF WARWICK
EARL OF SALISBURY
EARL OF SUFFOLK
LORD TALBOT, *afterwards Earl of Shrewsbury*
JOHN TALBOT, *his son*
EDMUND MORTIMER, *Earl of March*
SIR JOHN FASTOLFE
SIR WILLIAM LUCY
SIR WILLIAM GLANSDALE
SIR THOMAS GARGRAVE
Mayor of London
WOODVILE, *Lieutenant of the Tower*
VERNON, *of the White-Rose or York faction*
BASSET, *of the Red-Rose or Lancaster faction*
A Lawyer, Mortimer's Keepers

CHARLES, *Dauphin, and afterwards King, of France*
REIGNIER, *Duke of Anjou, and titular King of Naples*
DUKE OF BURGUNDY
DUKE OF ALENÇON
BASTARD OF ORLEANS
Governor of Paris
Master-Gunner of Orleans and his Son
General of the French forces in Bordeaux
A French Sergeant A Porter
An old Shepherd, father to Joan la Pucelle

MARGARET, *daughter to Reignier, afterwards married to King Henry*
COUNTESS OF AUVERGNE
JOAN LA PUCELLE, *commonly called Joan of Arc*

Lords, Warders of the Tower, Heralds, Officers, Soldiers, Messengers, and Attendants

Fiends appearing to La Pucelle

SCENE: *Partly in England, and partly in France*

SYNOPSIS

By J. Ellis Burdick

ACT I

By the death of the valiant King Henry V his infant son, Henry VI, succeeded to the thrones of England and France. The young King's guardians, forgetful of their country's interests, engage in quarrels with each other. The French take advantage of this weakness to regain many of their cities. Joan la Pucelle, or Joan of Arc, as she is known in history, renders valuable aid to the Dauphin of France, later Charles VII; she assists him to raise the siege of Orleans in spite of the able resistance of Talbot, the English general.

ACT II

The English retake Orleans by a sudden attack while the French are feasting in celebration of their victory. In England the quarrels of Richard Plantagenet, afterwards the Duke of York, and John Beaufort, Earl, afterwards the Duke, of Somerset, grow more violent and develop into the civil war known as the War of the Roses from the colors and flowers worn by either side—white roses by the Plantagenets (the House of York) and red ones by the Somersets (the House of Lancaster).

ACT III

Aided by La Pucelle, the French capture Rouen, but the English under Talbot retake it. Leaving a garrison in the town, Talbot and his army go to Paris, where the young monarch, Henry VI, is awaiting his coronation as King of France. The French Duke of Burgundy, who has been serving in the English army, is met by La Pucelle and the

Dauphin and persuaded to return to his old allegiance. Henry creates Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury in recognition of his services.

ACT IV

Talbot and his son John attempt to capture Bordeaux, but are surrounded by a much larger force of the French under the Dauphin. The quarrels of the Dukes of York and Somerset prevent them from sending additional troops to the Talbots and they are slain in a strongly contested battle.

ACT V

Henry VI consents to his guardians' plans for his marriage with the daughter of the French Earl of Armagnac. In a battle before Angiers, the English capture Joan of Arc and Margaret of Anjou. Joan is condemned to death at the stake and Henry is persuaded by the Duke of Suffolk to break his engagement with the Earl of Armagnac's daughter in favor of an alliance with Margaret. Charles the Dauphin swears allegiance to Henry VI and reigns as viceroy of France.

THE FIRST PART OF
KING HENRY VI

ACT FIRST.

Scene I

Westminster Abbey.

Dead March. Enter the Funeral of King Henry the Fifth, attended on by the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France; the Duke of Gloucester, Protector; the Duke of Exeter, the Earl of Warwick, the Bishop of Winchester, Heralds, &c.

Bed. Hung be the heavens with black, yield day to night!
Comets, importing change of times and states,
Brandish your crystal tresses in the sky,
And with them scourge the bad revolting stars

1. The upper part of the stage was in Shakespeare's times technically called the heavens, and was used to be hung with black when tragedies were performed. To this custom the text probably refers. —H. N. H.

3. *"crystal,"* unnecessarily changed by Hanmer to *"crisped"*; Warburton, *"cristed"* or *"crested"*; Roderick, *"tristful tresses in the sky,"* or "tresses in the crystal sky."—I. G.

That have consented unto Henry's death!
King Henry the Fifth, too famous to live long!
England ne'er lost a king of so much worth.

Glou. England ne'er had a king until his time.
Virtue he had, deserving to command:
His brandish'd sword did blind men with his beams:
His arms spread wider than a dragon's wings;
His sparkling eyes, replete with wrathful fire,
More dazzled and drove back his enemies
Than mid-day sun fierce bent against their faces.
What should I say? his deeds exceed all speech:
He ne'er lift up his hand but conquered.

Exe. We mourn in black: why mourn we not in blood?
Henry is dead and never shall revive:
Upon a wooden coffin we attend,
And death's dishonorable victory

The epithet Crystal was often bestowed on Comets by the old writers.—H. N. H.

5. *consented unto,* conspired to bring about.—C. H. H.

6. *"King Henry the Fifth";* Pope, *"Henry the Fifth";* Walker, *"King Henry Fifth";* Pope's reading has been generally followed by modern editors.—I. G.

12. *"wrathful";* Rowe, *"awful."*—I. G.

17. Thomas Beaufort, the present duke of Exeter, was son to John of Ghent by Catherine Swynford; born out of wedlock, but legitimated along with three other children in the time of Richard II. Of course therefore he was great uncle to King Henry VI. At the death of Henry V he was appointed governor of the infant king, which office he held till his death in 1425. The Poet, however, prolongs his life till 1444, the period of the First Part. Holinshed calls him "a right sage and discreet counsellor." The name Beaufort was derived from the place of his birth, which was Beaufort castle in France.—H. N. H.

We with our stately presence glorify,
Like captives bound to a triumphant car.
What! shall we curse the planets of mishap
That plotted thus our glory's overthrow?
Or shall we think the subtle-witted French
Conjurers and sorcerers, that afraid of him
By magic verses have contrived his end?
Win. He was a king bless'd of the King of kings.
Unto the French the dreadful judgment-day
So dreadful will not be as was his sight.
The battles of the Lord of hosts he fought:

24. *"glory's"*; Ff., *"Glories."*—I. G.

27. *"By magic verses have contrived his end"*; alluding to the old notion "that life might be taken away by metrical charms" (Johnson). Ff. 2, 3, 4, *"Verse"*; Pope, *"verse have thus."*—I. G.

This is well explained by a passage in Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft,* 1584: "The Irishmen will not sticke to affirme that they can rime man or Beast to death."—H. N. H.

28. Henry Beaufort, known in history as "the great bishop of Winchester," was brother to the duke of Exeter. At this time he held the office of chancellor, and was associated with Exeter in the governing of the infant sovereign. The quarrel between him and his nephew, the duke of Gloster, did not break out till 1425, though it had been brewing in secret for some time. In 1427 he was advanced by Pope Martin to the office of cardinal. The matter is thus related by Holinshed: "After that the duke of Bedford had set all things in good order in England, he returned into France, first landing at Calis, where the bishop of Winchester, that also passed the seas with him, received the habit, hat, and dignitie of a cardinall. The late king, right deeplie persing into the unrestrainable ambitious mind of the man, that even from his youth was ever to checke at the highest; and also right well ascertained with what intollerable pride his head should soone be swollen under such a hat; did therefore all his life long keepe this prelat backe from that presumptuous estate. But now, the king being yoong, and the regent his freend, he obteined his purpose to his great profit. For by a bull legantin, which he purchased from Rome, he gathered so much treasure, that no man in maner had monie but he; so that he was called the rich cardinall of Winchester."—H. N. H.

The church's prayers made him so prosperous.
Glou. The church! where is it? Had not churchmen pray'd,
His thread of life had not so soon decay'd:
None do you like but an effeminate prince,
Whom, like a school-boy, you may over-awe.
Win. Gloucester, whate'er we like, thou art Protector,
And lookest to command the prince and realm.
Thy wife is proud; she holdeth thee in awe,
More than God or religious churchmen may.
Glou. Name not religion, for thou lovest the flesh,
And ne'er throughout the year to church thou go'st
Except it be to pray against thy foes.
Bed. Cease, cease these jars and rest your minds in peace:
Let 's to the altar: heralds, wait on us:
Instead of gold, we 'll offer up our arms;
Since arms avail not now that Henry's dead.
Posterity, await for wretched years,
When at their mothers' moist eyes babes shall suck,
Our isle be made a marish of salt tears,
And none but women left to wail the dead.

33. *"had not"*; Vaughan proposed *"had but"* (but *cp.* ll. 41–43).—I. G.

49. *"moist"*; so Ff. 2, 3, 4; F. 1, *"moistned."*—I. G.

50. The original has "nourish" here, which can hardly be made to yield any reasonable meaning. Pope thought "nourish" a misprint for "marish," an old form of "marsh"; and Ritson gives an apt quotation from Kyd's Spanish Tragedy: "Made mountains marsh with spring tides of my tears."—H. N. H.

Henry the Fifth, thy ghost I invocate:
Prosper this realm, keep it from civil broils,
Combat with adverse planets in the heavens!
A far more glorious star thy soul will make
Than Julius Cæsar or bright—

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. My honorable lords, health to you all!
Sad tidings bring I to you out of France,
Of loss, of slaughter and discomfiture:
Guienne, Champagne, Rheims, Orleans,
Paris, Guysors, Poictiers, are all quite lost.
Bed. What say'st thou, man, before dead Henry's corse?
Speak softly; or the loss of those great towns
Will make him burst his lead and rise from death.
Glou. Is Paris lost? is Rouen yielded up
If Henry were recall'd to life again,
These news would cause him once more yield the ghost.
Exe. How were they lost? what treachery was used?
Mess. No treachery; but want of men and money.

56. *"or bright——"*; various attempts have been made to fill up the blank, which some editors explain as due to the inability of the compositor to read the name in the MS.; Francis Drake, Berenice, Cassiopeia, Alexander, &c., have been suggested. Probably the speech is interrupted by the entrance of the messenger.—I. G.

60. *"Rheims"*; Ff., *"Rheimes"*; evidently intended as a dissyllable; but Capell's *"Rheims, Roan,"* derives some support from the fact that *Roan, i. e. Rouen,* is mentioned by Gloucester in line 65 (Cambridge ed.).—I. G.

65. *"Rouen"*; F. 1, *"Roan."*—I. G.

Amongst the soldiers this is muttered,
That here you maintain several factions,
And whilst a field should be dispatch'd and fought,
You are disputing of your generals:
One would have lingering wars with little cost;
Another would fly swift, but wanteth wings;
A third thinks, without expense at all,
By guileful fair words peace may be obtain'd.
Awake, awake, English nobility!
Let not sloth dim your honors new-begot:
Cropp'd are the flower-de-luces in your arms;
Of England's coat one half is cut away.

Exe. Were our tears wanting to this funeral,
These tidings would call forth their flowing tides.

Bed. Me they concern; Regent I am of France.
Give me my steeled coat. I 'll fight for France.
Away with these disgraceful wailing robes!
Wounds will I lend the French instead of eyes,
To weep their intermissive miseries.

Enter to them another Messenger.

76. *"A third"*; Ff. 2, 3, 4, *"A third man"*; Walker, *"A third one"*; Delius, *"A third thinketh"*; Keightley, *"A third thinks that"*; Dyce, *"And a third thinks,"* &c. Surely a simpler solution of the difficulty is to read *"third"* as a dissyllable with a trilled *r*.—I. G.

78. *"Awake, awake"*; F. 2, *"Awake, away."*—I. G.

83. *"their"*; Theobald's emendation; Ff. *"her"*; Anon. conj. *"our."* —I. G.

That is, England's flowing tides.—H. N. H.

88. That is, their miseries which have only a short intermission.—H. N. H.

Mess. Lords, view these letters full of bad mischance.
France is revolted from the English quite,
Except some petty towns of no import:
The Dauphin Charles is crowned king in Rheims;
The Bastard of Orleans with him is join'd;
Reignier, Duke of Anjou, doth take his part;
The Duke of Alençon flieth to his side.
Exe. The Dauphin crowned king! all fly to him!
O, whither shall we fly from this reproach?
Glou. We will not fly, but to our enemies' throats.
Bedford, if thou be slack, I 'll fight it out.
Bed. Gloucester, why doubt'st thou of my forwardness?
An army have I muster'd in my thoughts,
Wherewith already France is overrun.

Enter another Messenger.

Mess. My gracious lords, to add to your laments,
Wherewith you now bedew King Henry's hearse,
I must inform you of a dismal fight
Betwixt the stout Lord Talbot and the French.
Win. What! wherein Talbot overcame? is 't so?
Mess. O, no; wherein Lord Talbot was o'erthrown:
The circumstance I 'll tell you more at large.
The tenth of August last this dreadful lord,

94. *"Reignier";* Rowe's emendation of *"Reynold"* of the Ff.—I. G.
95. *"The Duke of Alençon";* Walker omits *"of,"* to improve the rhythm of the line.—I. G.
96. *"crowned";* Rowe's emendation; *"crown'd,"* the reading of the Folios.—I. G.

Retiring from the siege of Orleans,
Having full scarce six thousand in his troop,
By three and twenty thousand of the French
Was round encompassed and set upon.
No leisure had he to enrank his men;
He wanted pikes to set before his archers;
Instead whereof sharp stakes pluck'd out of hedges
They pitched in the ground confusedly,
To keep the horsemen off from breaking in.
More than three hours the fight continued;
Where valiant Talbot above human thought
Enacted wonders with his sword and lance:
Hundreds he sent to hell, and none durst stand him;
Here, there, and every where, enraged he flew:
The French exclaim'd, the devil was in arms;
All the whole army stood agazed on him:
His soldiers spying his undaunted spirit
A Talbot! a Talbot! cried out amain,
And rush'd into the bowels of the battle.
Here had the conquest fully been seal'd up,
If Sir John Fastolfe had not play'd the coward:

124. *"flew,"* Rowe's correction; Ff., *"slew."*—I. G.

128. *"A Talbot! a Talbot! cried out amain."* The line has been variously emended as being defective, metrically. Pope, *"A Talbot! Talbot! cried"*; Seymour, *"A Talbot! cried, a Talbot!"*; Vaughan, *"Talbot! a Talbot! cried."* If, however, *"cried"* is read as a dissyllable, the movement of the line is parallel to that of *"prevent it, resist it, let it not be so,"* in Richard II. iv., and no correction seems necessary—

A Tálbot! | A Tálbot! crí|ed óut | amáin | .—I. G.

131. *"Sir John Fastolfe"*; Theobald's emendation here and elsewhere of Ff. *"Sir John Falstaffe"*; but in all probability Falstaff was the popular form of the name, and it is questionable whether

He, being in the vaward, placed behind
With purpose to relieve and follow them,
Cowardly fled, not having struck one stroke.
Hence grew the general wreck and massacre;
Enclosed were they with their enemies:
A base Walloon, to win the Dauphin's grace,
Thrust Talbot with a spear into the back,
Whom all France with their chief assembled strength
Durst not presume to look once in the face.
Bed. Is Talbot slain? then I will slay myself,
For living idly here in pomp and ease,
Whilst such a worthy leader, wanting aid,
Unto his dastard foemen is betray'd.
Mess. O no, he lives; but is took prisoner,

the text should be altered here. "He was a lieutenant-general, deputy regent to the Duke of Bedford in Normandy, and a Knight of the Garter."—I. G.

132. *"Vaward"* is an old word for the foremost part of an army, the *van.* The passage seems to involve a contradiction; but the meaning probably is, that Fastolfe commonly led the *vaward,* but was on this occasion *placed behind.* Monck Mason supposes the army to have been attacked in the *rear,* and remarks that in such cases "the van becomes the rear."—The original has *Falstaffe* for *Fastolfe;* but of course without any reference to the fat, funny old sinner of Henry IV, who had not been conceived when this play was written. Fastolfe was an actual person, greatly distinguished during these wars in France, and is well known in history. He was as far as possible from being a "coward": nevertheless, Holinshed, speaking of the battle of Patay, June, 1429, where Talbot was taken prisoner, has the following: "From this battell departed without anie stroke striken sir John Fastolfe, the same yeare for his valiantnesse elected into the order of the garter. But, for doubt of misdealing in this brunt, the duke of Bedford tooke from him the image of saint George and his garter; though afterward, by means of freends, and apparent causes of good excuse, the same were to him again delivered against the mind of lord Talbot."—H. N. H.

And Lord Scales with him, and Lord Hungerford:
Most of the rest slaughter'd or took likewise.
Bed. His ransom there is none but I shall pay:
I 'll hale the Dauphin headlong from his throne:
His crown shall be the ransom of my friend;
Four of their lords I 'll change for one of ours.
Farewell, my masters; to my task will I;
Bonfires in France forthwith I am to make,
To keep our great Saint George's feast withal:
Ten thousand soldiers with me I will take,
Whose bloody deeds shall make all Europe quake.
Mess. So you had need; for Orleans is besieged;
The English army is grown weak and faint:
The Earl of Salisbury craveth supply,
And hardly keeps his men from mutiny,
Since they, so few, watch such a multitude.
Exe. Remember, lords, your oaths to Henry sworn,
Either to quell the Dauphin utterly,
Or bring him in obedience to your yoke.
Bed. I do remember it; and here take my leave,
To go about my preparation. [*Exit.*
Glou. I 'll to the Tower with all the haste I can,
To view the artillery and munition;
And then I will proclaim young Henry king. [*Exit.*
Exe. To Eltham will I, where the young king is,
Being ordain'd his special governor,

170. *"Eltham,"* a royal palace.—C. H. H.

And for his safety there I 'll best devise. [*Exit.*
Win. Each hath his place and function to attend:
I am left out; for me nothing remains.
But long I will not be Jack out of office:
The king from Eltham I intend to steal
And sit at chiefest stern of public weal.
[*Exeunt.*

Scene II

France. Before Orleans.

Sound a Flourish. Enter Charles, Alençon, and Reignier, marching with Drum and Soldiers.

Char. Mars his true moving, even as in the heavens
So in the earth, to this day is not known:
Late did he shine upon the English side;
Now we are victors; upon us he smiles.
What towns of any moment but we have?
At pleasure here we lie near Orleans;

176. *"steal,"* Mason's conjecture; Ff., *"send"*; Keightley, *"fetch."* —I. G.

177. This was one of the things charged upon the Bishop by Gloucester when their quarrel broke out. Thus in Holinshed "my said lord of Winchester purposed and disposed him to set hand on the King's person, and to have him removed from Eltham, to the intent to put him in governance as he list."—H. N. H.

1. *"Mars his true moving"; cp.* "You are as ignorant in the true *movings* of my muse as the astronomers are in the *true movings of Mars,* which to this day they could not attain to," quoted by Steevens from one of Nash's prefaces to Gabriel Harvey's *Hunt's Up,* 1596. Kepler's work on Mars (*Comment. de Motibus Stellæ Martis*) was published in 1609.—I. G.

Otherwhiles the famish'd English, like pale ghosts,
Faintly besiege us one hour in a month.

Alen. They want their porridge and their fat bull-beeves
Either they must be dieted like mules,
And have their provender tied to their mouths,
Or piteous they will look, like drowned mice.

Reig. Let 's raise the siege: why live we idly here?
Talbot is taken, whom we wont to fear:
Remaineth none but mad-brain'd Salisbury;
And he may well in fretting spend his gall,
Nor men nor money hath he to make war.

Char. Sound, sound alarum! we will rush on them.
Now for the honor of the forlorn French!
Him I forgive my death that killeth me
When he sees me go back one foot or fly.

[*Exeunt.*

Here Alarum; they are beaten back by the English with great loss.

Re-enter Charles, Alençon, and Reignier.

Char. Who ever saw the like? what men have I!
Dogs! cowards! dastards! I would ne'er have fled,
But that they left me 'midst my enemies.

Reig. Salisbury is a desperate homicide;
He fighteth as one weary of his life.
The other lords, like lions wanting food,
Do rush upon us as their hungry prey.

13. *"live"*; Capell, *"sit"*; Walker, *"lie."*—I. G.
28. That is, the prey for which they are hungry.—H. N. H.

Alen. Froissart, a countryman of ours, records,
England all Olivers and Rowlands bred
During the time Edward the Third did reign.
More truly now may this be verified;
For none but Samsons and Goliases
It sendeth forth to skirmish. One to ten!
Lean raw-boned rascals! who would e'er suppose
They had such courage and audacity?

Char. Let 's leave this town; for they are hare-brain'd slaves,
And hunger will enforce them to be more eager:
Of old I know them; rather with their teeth
The walls they 'll tear down than forsake the siege.

Reig. I think, by some odd gimmors or device
Their arms are set like clocks, still to strike on;
Else ne'er could they hold out so as they do.
By my consent, we 'll even let them alone.

Alen. Be it so.

Enter the Bastard of Orleans

Bast. Where 's the Prince Dauphin? I have news for him.

30. These were two of the most famous in the list of Charlemagne's twelve peers; and their exploits are the theme of the old romances. From the equally doughty and unheard-of exploits of these champions, arose the saying of "Giving a Rowland for an Oliver," for giving a person as good as he brings.—H. N. H.
"bred"; Ff., breed."—I. G.

41. *"Gimmors"* means any kind of device or machine for producing motion. Thus Digby, *Of Man's Soul:* "Whence 'tis manifest that his answers do not proceed upon set *gimals* or strings, whereof one being struck moves the rest in a set order." And in Bishop Hall's *Epistles:* "The famous Kentish idol moved her eyes and hands by those secret *gimmers* which now every puppet play can imitate."—H. N. H.

Char. Bastard of Orleans, thrice welcome to us.
Bast. Methinks your looks are sad, your cheer appall'd:
Hath the late overthrow wrought this offense?
Be not dismay'd, for succor is at hand:
A holy maid hither with me I bring,
Which by a vision sent to her from heaven
Ordained is to raise this tedious siege,
And drive the English forth the bounds of France.
The spirit of deep prophecy she hath,
Exceeding the nine sibyls of old Rome:
What 's past and what 's to come she can descry.
Speak, shall I call her in? Believe my words,
For they are certain and unfallible.
Char. Go, call her in. [*Exit Bastard.*] But first, to try her skill,
Reignier, stand thou as Dauphin in my place:
Question her proudly; let thy looks be stern:
By this means shall we sound what skill she hath.

47. *"Bastard"* was not in former times a title of reproach. Hurd, in his *Letters on Chivalry and Romance,* makes it one of the circumstances of agreement between Heroic and Gothic manners, "that bastardy was in credit with both."—H. N. H.

48. *"Cheer"* in this instance means *heart* or *courage,* as in the expression, "be of good *cheer.*"—H. N. H.

56. *"nine sibyls of old Rome."* The number of the Sibyls is variously given as three, four, seven, ten; possibly the "nine" is here due to confusion with the nine Sibylline books.—I. G.

Warburton says, "there were no *nine sibyls of Rome:* it is a mistake for the nine Sibylline Oracles brought to one of the Tarquins." But the Poet followed the popular books of his day, which say that the Ten Sibyls were women that had the spirit of prophecy and they prophesied of Christ.—H. N. H.

Puc. "Lo, whilst I waited on my tender lambs,
. . . God's mother deigned to appear to me,"

King Henry VI. P. 1. Act 1, Scene 2.

Re-enter the Bastard of Orleans, with Joan La Pucelle.

Reig. Fair maid, is 't thou wilt do these wondrous feats?

Puc. Reignier is 't thou that thinkest to beguile me?
Where is the Dauphin? Come, come from behind;
I know thee well, though never seen before.
Be not amazed, there's nothing hid from me:
In private will I talk with thee apart.
Stand back, you lords, and give us leave awhile.

Reig. She takes upon her bravely at first dash.

Puc. Dauphin, I am by birth a shepherd's daughter,
My wit untrain'd in any kind of art.
Heaven and our Lady gracious hath it pleased
To shine on my contemptible estate:
Lo, whilst I waited on my tender lambs,
And to sun's parching heat display'd my cheeks,
God's mother deigned to appear to me,
And in a vision full of majesty
Will'd me to leave my base vocation,
And free my country from calamity:
Her aid she promised and assured success:
In complete glory she reveal'd herself;
And, whereas I was black and swart before,
With those clear rays which she infused on me
That beauty am I bless'd with which you see.

86. *"which you see,"* reading of Ff. 2, 3, 4; F. 1, *"which you may see."*—I. G.

Ask me what question thou canst possible,
And I will answer unpremeditated:
My courage try by combat, if thou darest,
And thou shalt find that I exceed my sex.
Resolve on this, thou shalt be fortunate,
If thou receive me for thy warlike mate.

Char. Thou hast astonish'd me with thy high terms;
Only this proof I 'll of thy valor make,
In single combat thou shalt buckle with me,
And if thou vanquishest, thy words are true;
Otherwise I renounce all confidence.

Puc. I am prepared: here is my keen-edged sword,
Deck'd with five flower-de-luces on each side;
The which at Touraine, in Saint Katharine's church-yard,
Out of a great deal of old iron I chose forth.

Char. Then come, o' God's name; I fear no woman.

Puc. And while I live, I 'll ne'er fly from a man.

[*Here they fight, and Joan La Pucelle overcomes.*

91. *"Resolve on this";* that is, be *"convinced of it."*—H. N. H.

99. *"five";* Ff., *"fine."*—I. G.

101. *"Out of a great deal of old iron";* Dyce's conjecture, *"out of a deal old iron,"* seems the best of the emendations proposed.—I. G.

This is taken from the chronicler: "Then at the Dolphins sending by hir assignement, from saint Katharins church of Fierbois in Touraine, where she never had beene, in a secret place there among old iron, appointed she hir sword to be sought out and brought hir, that with five floure delices was graven on both sides, wherewith she fought, and did manie slaughters by hir owne hands." —H. N. H.

103. *"ne'er fly from a man";* so F. 1; Ff. 2, 3, 4, *"ne'er flye . . man";* Collier MS., *"ne'er fly from no man";* there was probably some jingle intended:—

CHAR. *Then come, o' God's name; I fear no woman.*
PUC. *And while I live, I'll ne'er fly from no man.*—I. G.

Char. Stay, stay thy hands; thou art an Amazon,
And fightest with the sword of Deborah.
Puc. Christ's mother helps me, else I were too weak.
Char. Whoe'er helps thee, 'tis thou that must help me:
Impatiently I burn with thy desire;
My heart and hands thou hast at once subdued.
Excellent Pucelle, if thy name be so,
Let me thy servant and not sovereign be:
'Tis the French Dauphin sueth to thee thus.
Puc. I must not yield to any rites of love,
For my profession's sacred from above:
When I have chased all thy foes from hence,
Then will I think upon a recompense.
Char. Meantime look gracious on thy prostrate thrall.
Reig. My lord, methinks, is very long in talk.
Alen. Doubtless he shrives this woman to her smock;
Else ne'er could he so long protract his speech.
Reig. Shall we disturb him, since he keeps no mean?
Alen. He may mean more than we poor men do know:
These women are shrewd tempters with their tongues.
Reig. My lord, where are you? what devise you on?
Shall we give over Orleans, or no?
Puc. Why, no, I say, distrustful recreants!

108. *"thy desire,"* = desire for thee.—I. G.
111. *"Servant"* = lover.—C. H. H.
121. "keeps no mean" = observes no measure.—C. H. H.

Fight till the last gasp; I will be your guard.
Char. What she says I 'll confirm: we 'll fight it out:
Puc. Assign'd am I to be the English scourge.
This night the siege assuredly I 'll raise:
Expect Saint Martin's summer, halcyon days,
Since I have entered into these wars.
Glory is like a circle in the water,
Which never ceaseth to enlarge itself
Till by broad spreading it disperse to nought.
With Henry's death the English circle ends;
Dispersed are the glories it included.
Now am I like that proud insulting ship
Which Cæsar and his fortune bare at once.
Char. Was Mahomet inspired with a dove?
Thou with an eagle art inspired then.
Helen, the mother of great Constantine,

131. *"Expect Saint Martin's summer";* "expect prosperity after misfortune, like fair weather at Martlemas, after winter has begun" (Johnson). St. Martin's Day is November 11.—I. G.

138. *"That proud insulting ship, Which Cæsar and his fortune bare at once,"* evidently suggested by the following passage in North's translation of Plutarch's "Life of Cæsar":—"Cæsar hearing that, straight discovered himself unto the master of the pynnace, who at first was amazed when he saw him; but Cæsar, then taking him by the hand, said unto him, good fellow, be of good cheer, . . . and fear not, for *thou hast Cæsar and his fortune with thee.*" —I. G.

140. *"Mahomet inspired with a dove"; cp.* "he (Mahomet) used to feed (a dove) with wheat out of his ear; which dove, when it was hungry, lighted on Mahomet's shoulder, and thrust its bill in to find its breakfast; Mahomet persuading the rude and simple Arabians that it was the Holy Ghost that gave him advice" (Raleigh's *History of the World*).—I. G.

142. *"Helen."* The empress Helena, according to Christian legend, succeeded by divine guidance in recovering the Cross of Christ.—C. H. H.

Nor yet Saint Philip's daughters, were like thee.
Bright star of Venus, fall'n down on the earth,
How may I reverently worship thee enough?

Alen. Leave off delays, and let us raise the siege.

Reig. Woman, do what thou canst to save our honors;
Drive them from Orleans and be immortalized.

Char. Presently we 'll try: come, let 's away about it:
No prophet will I trust, if she prove false. 150

[*Exeunt.*

143. *"Saint Philip's daughters";* "the four daughters of Philip mentioned in the Acts."—Hanmer.

145. *"reverently worship";* Capell, *"ever worship";* Steevens, *"reverence, worship";* Dyce (Collier MS.), *"reverent worship";* the last seems the only plausible reading.—I. G.

148. *"Orleans,"* Ff., *"Orleance";* Capell, *"hence."*—I. G.

150. The matter of this scene is thus related by Holinshed: "In time of this siege at Orleance, French stories saie, unto Charles the Dolphin at Chinon was caried a yoong wench of an eighteene yeeres old, called Joan Arc, borne at Domprin upon Meuse in Loraine. Of favour was she counted likesome, of person stronglie made and manlie, of courage great, hardie, and stout withall, an understander of counsels though she were not at them, great semblance of chastitie both of bodie and behaviour, the name of Jesus in hir mouth about all hir businesses, humble, obedient, and fasting diverse daies in the weeke. Unto the Dolphin in his gallerie when first she was brought, and he shadowing himselfe behind, setting other gaie lords before him to trie hir cunning, she pickt him out alone, who thereupon had her to the end of the gallerie, where she held him an houre in secret and private talke, that of his privie chamber was thought verie long, and therefore would have broken it off; but he made them a sign to let hir saie on."—H. N. H.

Scene III

London. Before the Tower.

Enter the Duke of Gloucester, with his Serving-men in blue coats.

Glou. I am come to survey the Tower this day:
Since Henry's death, I fear, there is conveyance.
Where be these warders, that they wait not here?
Open the gates; 'tis Gloucester that calls.

First Warder. [*Within*] Who 's there that knocks so imperiously?

First Serv. It is the noble Duke of Gloucester.

Second Warder. [*Within*] Whoe'er he be, you may not be let in.

First Serv. Villains, answer you so the lord protector?

First Warder. [*Within*] The Lord protect him! so we answer him:
We do no otherwise than we are will'd.

Glou. Who willed you? or whose will stands but mine?
There 's none protector of the realm but I.
Break up the gates, I 'll be your warrantize:

4. *"'tis Gloucester";* Pope's emendation; Ff., *"'tis Gloster";* Steevens, *"it is Gloster,"* &c.; *cp.* l. 62 below, where Ff. similarly read *"Gloster."*—I. G.

13. *To break up* was the same as *to break open.* "They have *broken up* and have passed through *the gate.*"—Micah ii. 13. "He would have watched and would not have suffered his home to be *broken up.*" Matthew xxiv. 43. "The lusty Kentishmen hoping on more friends *brake up the gaytes*" (Hall's *Chronicle*).—H. N. H.

Shall I be flouted thus by dunghill grooms?

[*Gloucester's men rush at the Tower Gates, and Woodvile the Lieutenant speaks within.*

Woodv. What noise is this? what traitors have we here?

Glou. Lieutenant, is it you whose voice I hear?
Open the gates; here 's Gloucester that would enter.

Woodv. Have patience, noble duke; I may not open;
The Cardinal of Winchester forbids:
From him I have express commandment
That thou nor none of thine shall be let in.

Glou. Faint-hearted Woodvile, prizest him 'fore me?
Arrogant Winchester, that haughty prelate,
Whom Henry, our late sovereign, ne'er could brook?
Thou art no friend to God or to the king:
Open the gates, or I 'll shut thee out shortly.

Serving-men. Open the gates unto the lord protector,
Or we 'll burst them open, if that you come not quickly.

Enter to the Protector at the Tower Gates Winchester and his men in tawny coats.

Win. How now, ambitious Humphry! what means this?

29. *"ambitious Humphry";* F. 4, *"ambition"; "Humphry,"* Theobald's emendation; F. 1, *"Vmpheir";* Ff. 2, 3, 4, *"Umpire."*—I. G.

Glou. Peel'd priest, dost thou command me to be shut out?

Win. I do, thou most usurping proditor,
And not protector, of the king or realm.

Glou. Stand back, thou manifest conspirator,
Thou that contrivedst to murder our dead lord;
Thou that givest whores indulgences to sin:
I 'll canvass thee in thy broad cardinal's hat,
If thou proceed in this thy insolence.

Win. Nay, stand thou back; I will not budge a foot:
This be Damascus, be thou cursed Cain,
To slay thy brother Abel, if thou wilt.

Glou. I will not slay thee, but I 'll drive thee back:

30. *"Peel'd,"* that is, *"bald,"* alluding to his shaven crown. *Piel'd* and *pild,* or *pilled* are only various ways of spelling *peeled.*—H. N. H.

34. One of Gloster's charges against the bishop runs thus in Holinshed: "My said lord of Glocester affirmeth, that our sovreigne lord his brother, that was king Henrie the fift, told him on a time, that when, being prince, he was lodged in the palace of Westminster, there was a man spied and taken behind a hanging of the chamber; the which man, being examined upon the cause of his being there at that time, confessed that he was there by the stirring and procuring of my said lord of Winchester, ordeined to have slain the said prince there in his bed."—H. N. H.

35. *"indulgences to sin";* "the public stews were formerly under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Winchester."—Pope.

36. *Cannabasser,* French, is rendered by Cotgrave, "to *canvass,* or curiously to examine, search, or sift out, the depth of a matter." And Skinner says the same word was used for "shaking or beating hemp."—We have seen in a former note that Beaufort was not made a *cardinal* till 1427, which was two years after the rupture with Gloster.—H. N. H.

40. The allusion here is well explained by a passage in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville:* "In that place where Damascus was founded, Kayn sloughe Abel his brother." And Ritson has another of like drift from the *Polychronicon:* "Damascus is as much as to say shedding of blood; for there Chaym slew Abel, and hid him in the sand."—H. N. H.

Thy scarlet robes as a child's bearing-cloth
I 'll use to carry thee out of this place.

Win. Do what thou darest; I beard thee to thy face.

Glou. What! am I dared and bearded to my face?
Draw, men, for all this privileged place;
Blue coats to tawny coats. Priest, beware your beard;
I mean to tug it and to cuff you soundly:
Under my feet I stamp thy cardinal's hat:
In spite of pope or dignities of church,
Here by the cheeks I 'll drag thee up and down.

Win. Gloucester, thou wilt answer this before the pope.

Glou. Winchester goose, I cry, a rope! a rope!
Now beat them hence; why do you let them stay?
Thee I 'll chase hence, thou wolf in sheep's array.
Out, tawny coats! out, scarlet hypocrite!

Here Gloucester's men beat out the Cardinal's men, and enter in the hurly-burly the Mayor of London and his Officers.

May. Fie, lords! that you, being supreme magistrates,

47. It appears from this, that Gloster's servants wore *blue coats,* and Winchester's *tawny*. Such was the usual livery of servants in the Poet's time, and long before. Stowe informs us that on a certain occasion the bishop of London "was attended on by a goodly company of gentlemen in *tawny coats.*"—H. N. H.

53. A *"Winchester goose"* was a particular stage of the disease contracted in the stews; hence Gloster bestows the epithet on the bishop in derision and scorn. A person affected with that disease was likewise so called.—H. N. H.

Cant term for a harlot.—C. H. H.

Thus contumeliously should break the peace!

Glou. Peace, mayor! thou know'st little of my wrongs:
Here 's Beaufort, that regards nor God nor king,
Hath here distrain'd the Tower to his use.

Win. Here 's Gloucester, a foe to citizens,
One that still motions war and never peace,
O'ercharging your free purses with large fines,
That seeks to overthrow religion,
Because he is protector of the realm,
And would have armor here out of the Tower,
To crown himself king and suppress the prince.

Glou. I will not answer thee with words, but blows.
[*Here they skirmish again.*

May. Nought rests for me in this tumultuous strife
But to make open proclamation:
Come, officer; as loud as e'er thou canst:
Cry.

Off. All manner of men assembled here in arms this day against God's peace and the king's, we charge and command you, in his highness' name, to repair to your several dwelling-places; and not to wear, handle, or use any sword, weapon, or dagger, henceforward, upon pain of death.

Glou. Cardinal, I 'll be no breaker of the law:
But we shall meet, and break our minds at large.

61. *"distrain'd"*= appropriated.—C. H. H.

72. *"as e'er thou canst; Cry"*; Ff., *"as e're thou canst, cry"*; Collier MS., *"as thou canst cry."*—I. G.

Win. Gloucester, we will meet; to thy cost, be sure:
Thy heart-blood I will have for this day's work.
May. I 'll call for clubs, if you will not away.
This cardinal's more haughty than the devil.
Glou. Mayor, farewell: thou dost but what thou mayst.
Win. Abominable Gloucester, guard thy head;
For I intend to have it ere long.
[*Exeunt, severally, Gloucester and Winchester with their Serving-men.*
May. See the coast clear'd, and then we will depart.
Good God, these nobles should such stomachs bear! 90
I myself fight not once in forty year.
[*Exeunt.*

82. *"cost,"* Ff. 2, 3, 4, *"deare cost."*—I. G.

88. *"it ere long";* so Ff. 1, 2; Ff. 3, 4, *"it e're be long";* Capell, *"it, ere 't be long";* Collier MS., *"it off, ere long";* Orson, *"at it."*—I. G.

90. *stomachs,* warlike spirits. The sentence is elliptical, for "(to think that) these nobles," or the like.—C. H. H.

91. The account of this stormy brawl, as given in the old chronicles, runs substantially thus: The duke being absent a while, the bishop caused the Tower to be garrisoned, and committed to the care of Richard Woodville, with orders "to admit no one more powerful than himself." The duke, at his return, demanding lodgings in the Tower, and being refused, forthwith ordered the mayor to close the gates of the city against the bishop, and to furnish him with five hundred horsemen, that he might visit in safety the young king at Eltham. The next morning the bishop's retainers undertook to burst open the gate on the bridge, and placed archers in the houses on each side of the road, declaring that, as their lord was excluded from the city, so they would keep the duke from leaving it.—H. N. H.

Scene IV

Orleans.

Enter, on the walls, a Master Gunner and his Boy.

M. Gun. Sirrah, thou know'st how Orleans is besieged,
And how the English have the suburbs won.
Boy. Father, I know; and oft have shot at them,
Howe'er unfortunate I miss'd my aim.
M. Gun. But now thou shalt not. Be thou ruled by me:
Chief master-gunner am I of this town;
Something I must do to procure me grace.
The prince's espials have informed me
How the English, in the suburbs close intrench'd,
Wont through a secret grate of iron bars
In yonder tower to overpeer the city,
And thence discover how with most advantage
They may vex us with shot or with assault.
To intercept this inconvenience,
A piece of ordnance 'gainst it I have placed;
And even these three days have I watch'd,
If I could see them.
Now do thou watch, for I can stay no longer.
If thou spy'st any, run and bring me word;

10. *"wont"*; the old copy reads *went;* the emendation is Mr. Tyrwhitt's. The English *wont,* that is, are accustomed, to overpeer the city. It is the third person plural of the old verb *wont.* The emendation is fully supported by the speech in the Chronicles on which his is formed.—H. N. H.

And thou shalt find me at the governor's.

[*Exit.*

Boy. Father, I warrant you; take you no care;
I 'll never trouble you, if I may spy them.

[*Exit.*

Enter, on the turrets, the Lords Salisbury and Talbot, Sir William Glansdale, Sir Thomas Gargrave, and others.

Sal. Talbot, my life, my joy, again return'd!
How wert thou handled being prisoner?
Or by what means got'st thou to be released?
Discourse, I prithee, on this turret's top.

Tal. The Duke of Bedford had a prisoner
Call'd the brave Lord Ponton de Santrailles;
For him was I exchanged and ransomed.
But with a baser man of arms by far
Once in contempt they would have barter'd me:
Which I disdaining scorn'd, and craved death
Rather than I would be so vile-esteem'd.
In fine, redeem'd I was as I desired.

22. *"on the turrets,"* Ff., *"in an upper chamber of a tower"* (Malone).—I. G.

27. *"Duke";* Theobald's emendation of *"Earle"* of the Ff.—I. G.

29. Here again the poet transposes the order of events. The affair in the Tower at Orleans which ended in the death of Salisbury took place October 23, 1428. The capture of Talbot by the French was at the Battle of Patay, June 18, 1429; of Santrailles by the English, in 1431.—H. N. H.

33. *"so vile-esteem'd";* Pope, *"so vilde esteem'd";* Ff., *"so pil'd esteem'd";* Capell, *"so pill'd esteem'd";* Mason, *"so ill-esteemed,"* &c. —I. G.

The old copy reads *"pil'd esteem'd"*—as *vile* was frequently spelled *vild* by Shakespeare and others there can hardly be a doubt that it was the word.—H. N. H.

But, O! the treacherous Fastolfe wounds my heart,
Whom with my bare fists I would execute,
If I now had him brought into my power.

Sal. Yet tell'st thou not how thou wert entertain'd.

Tal. With scoffs and scorns and contumelious taunts.
In open market-place produced they me,
To be a public spectacle to all:
Here, said they, is the terror of the French,
The scarecrow that affrights our children so.
Then broke I from the officers that led me,
And with my nails digg'd stones out of the ground,
To hurl at the beholders of my shame:
My grisly countenance made others fly;
None durst come near for fear of sudden death.
In iron walls they deem'd me not secure;
So great fear of my name 'mongst them was spread
That they supposed I could rend bars of steel,
And spurn in pieces posts of adamant:
Wherefore a guard of chosen shot I had,
That walk'd about me every minute while;
And if I did but stir out of my bed,
Ready they were to shoot me to the heart.

43. "This man [Talbot] was to the French people a very scourge and a daily *terror,* insomuch that as his person was fearful and terrible to his adversaries present, so his name and fame was spiteful and dreadful to the common people absent; insomuch that women in France, to feare their yong children, would crye the *Talbot* cometh" (Hall's *Chronicle*).—H. N. H.

53. *"shot"*=marksman, *"shots."*—C. H. H.

Enter the Boy with a linstock.

Sal. I grieve to hear what torments you endured,
But we will be revenged sufficiently.
Now it is supper-time in Orleans:
Here, through this grate, I count each one,
And view the Frenchmen how they fortify:
Let us look in; the sight will much delight thee.
Sir Thomas Gargrave, and Sir William Glansdale,
Let me have your express opinions
Where is best place to make our battery next.
Gar. I think, at the north gate; for there stand lords.
Glan. And I, here, at the bulwark of the bridge.
Tal. For aught I see, this city must be famish'd,
Or with light skirmishes enfeebled.
[*Here they shoot. Salisbury and Gargrave fall.*
Sal. O Lord, have mercy on us, wretched sinners!
Gar. O Lord, have mercy on me, woful man!
Tal. What chance is this that suddenly hath cross'd us?
Speak, Salisbury: at least, if thou canst speak:
How farest thou, mirror of all martial men?
One of thy eyes and thy cheek's side struck off!
Accursed tower! accursed fatal hand
That hath contrived this woful tragedy!
In thirteen battles Salisbury o'ercame;
Henry the Fifth he first train'd to the wars;
Whilst any trump did sound, or drum struck up,

His sword did ne'er leave striking in the field.
Yet livest thou, Salisbury? though thy speech
doth fail,
One eye thou hast, to look to heaven for grace:
The sun with one eye vieweth all the world.
Heaven, be thou gracious to none alive,
If Salisbury wants mercy at thy hands!
Bear hence his body; I will help to bury it,
Sir Thomas Gargrave, hast thou any life?
Speak unto Talbot; nay, look up to him.
Salisbury, cheer thy spirit with this comfort;
Thou shalt not die whiles—
He beckons with his hand and smiles on me,
As who should say 'When I am dead and gone,
Remember to avenge me on the French.'
Plantagenet, I will; and like thee, Nero,

95. This looks as if the Poet thought Salisbury's name Plantagenet, while in fact it was Thomas Montacute. Holinshed gives the following account of him: "This earle was the man at that time, by whose wit, strength, and policie, the English name was much terrible to the French; which of himselfe might both appoint, command, and doo all things in manner at his pleasure; for suerlie he was both painefull, diligent, and ready to withstand all dangerous chances that were in hand, prompt in counsell, and of courage invincible; so that in no one man men put more trust, nor any singular person wan the harts so much of all men."—The main event of this scene is thus related by the same writer: "In the tower that was taken at the bridge end, there was an high chamber, having a grate full of barres of iron, by the which a man might looke all the length of the bridge into the citie; at which grate manie of the cheefe capteins stood manie times, viewing the citie, and devising in what place it was best to give the assault. They within the citie well perceived this tooting hole, and laid a peece of ordinance directlie against the window. It so chanced, that the nine and fiftith daie after the siege was laid the earle of Salisburie, sir Thomas Gargrave, and William Glasdale, with diverse other went into the said tower, and so into the high chamber, and looked out at the grate, and within a short space

Play on the lute, beholding the towns burn;
Wretched shall France be only in thy name.
[*Here an alarum, and it thunders and lightens.*
What stir is this? what tumult 's in the heavens?
Whence cometh this alarum, and the noise?

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. My lord, my lord, the French have gather'd head:
The Dauphin, with one Joan la Pucelle join'd,
A holy prophetess new risen up,
Is come with a great power to raise the siege.
[*Here Salisbury lifteth himself up and groans.*
Tal. Hear, hear how dying Salisbury doth groan!
It irks his heart he cannot be revenged.
Frenchmen, I 'll be a Salisbury to you:
Pucelle or puzzel, dolphin or dogfish,

the sonne of the maister-gunner, perceiving men looking out at the window, tooke his match, as his father had taught him, who was gone downe to dinner, and fired the gun; the shot whereof brake and shivered the iron barres of the grate, so that one of the same bars strake the earle so violentlie on the head, that it stroke awaie one of his eies and the side of his cheeke. Sir Thomas Gargrave was likewise striken, and died within two daies. The earle was conveied to Meun on Loire, where after eight daies he likewise departed this world."—H. N. H.

95. *"like thee, Nero,"* Malone; F. 1, *"like thee"*; F. 2, *"Nero like will"*; Ff. 3, 4, *"Nero like, will"*; Pope, *"Nero-like,"* &c.—I. G.

101. *"Joan la Pucelle"*; Ff., *"Joan de Puzel"* (and elsewhere).—I. G.

107. *"Puzzel"* means a *dirty wench* or a *drab;* "from *puzza,* that is, malus fœtor," says Minsheu. Thus in Steevens's *Apology for Herodotus,* 1607: "Some filthy queans, especially our *puzzels* of Paris, use this theft." And in Stubbe's *Anatomy of Abuses,* 1595: "Nor yet any droye nor *puzzel* in the country but will carry a nosegay in her hand." It should be remembered that in the Poet's time *dauphin* was always written *dolphin.*—H. N. H.

Your hearts I 'll stamp out with my horse's heels,
And make a quagmire of your mingled brains.
Convey me Salisbury into his tent,
And then we 'll try what these dastard Frenchmen dare. [*Alarum. Exeunt.*

Scene V

The same.

Here an alarum again: and Talbot pursueth the Dauphin, and driveth him: then enter Joan La Pucelle, driving Englishmen before her, and exit after them: then re-enter Talbot.

Tal. Where is my strength, my valor, and my force?
Our English troops retire, I cannot stay them:
A woman clad in armor chaseth them.

Re-enter La Pucelle.

Here, here she comes. I 'll have a bout with thee;
Devil or devil's dam, I 'll conjure thee:
Blood will I draw on thee, thou art a witch,
And straightway give thy soul to him thou servest.

6. *"Blood will I draw on thee, thou art a witch";* "the superstition of those times taught that he that could draw the witch's blood was free from her power" (Johnson).—I. G.

STATUE OF JOAN OF ARC.

E. Fremiet, Sculptor.

King Henry VI. Part 1.

Puc. Come, come, 'tis only I that must disgrace thee.

[*Here they fight.*

Tal. Heavens, can you suffer hell so to prevail?
My breast I 'll burst with straining of my courage,
And from my shoulders crack my arms asunder,
But I will chastise this high-minded strumpet.

[*They fight again.*

Puc. Talbot, farewell; thy hour is not yet come:
I must go victual Orleans forthwith.

[*A short alarum: then enter the town with soldiers.*

O'ertake me, if thou canst; I scorn thy strength.
Go, go, cheer up thy hungry-starved men;
Help Salisbury to make his testament:
This day is ours, as many more shall be. [*Exit.*

Tal. My thoughts are whirled like a potter's wheel;
I know not where I am, nor what I do;
A witch, by fear, not force, like Hannibal,
Drives back our troops and conquers as she lists:
So bees with smoke and doves with noisome stench
Are from their hives and houses driven away.
They call'd us for our fierceness English dogs;
Now, like to whelps, we crying run away.

[*A short alarum.*

Hark, countrymen! either renew the fight,
Or tear the lions out of England's coat;

21. *"like Hannibal,"* who, in order to escape, devised the stratagem of fixing lighted twigs to the horns of oxen. (*Cp.* Livy, xxii. 16.)—I. G.

Renounce your soil, give sheep in lions' stead:
Sheep run not half so treacherous from the wolf,
Or horse or oxen from the leopard,
As you fly from your oft-subdued slaves.
[*Alarum. Here another skirmish.*
It will not be: retire into your trenches:
You all consented unto Salisbury's death,
For none would strike a stroke in his revenge.
Pucelle is enter'd into Orleans,
In spite of us or aught that we could do.
O, would I were to die with Salisbury!
The shame hereof will make me hide my head.
[*Exit Talbot. Alarum; retreat; flourish.*

Scene VI

The same.

Enter, on the walls, La Pucelle, Charles, Reignier, Alençon, and Soldiers.

Puc. Advance our waving colors on the walls;
Rescued is Orleans from the English:
Thus Joan la Pucelle hath perform'd her word.

30. *"treacherous from";* so Ff. 3, 4; Ff. 1, 2, *"trecherous from";* Pope, *"tim'rous from."*—I. G.

"treacherous." So in the old copies, but commonly changed to *timorous,* following Pope. The change is apt enough, but needless; the meaning being, no doubt, that sheep are not to be trusted or relied on, because they are cowardly.—H. N. H.

2. *"English"* (trisyllabic), so F. 1; Ff. 2, 3, 4, *"English wolves";* Staunton, *"English dogs."*—I. G.

Char. Divinest creature, Astræa's daughter,
How shall I honor thee for this success?
Thy promises are like Adonis' gardens
That one day bloom'd and fruitful were the next.
France, triumph in thy glorious prophetess!
Recover'd is the town of Orleans:
More blessed hap did ne'er befall our state.
Reig. Why ring not out the bells aloud throughout the town?
Dauphin, command the citizens make bonfires
And feast and banquet in the open streets,
To celebrate the joy that God hath given us.
Alen. All France will be replete with mirth and joy,
When they shall hear how we have play'd the men.
Char. 'Tis Joan, not we, by whom the day is won;
For which I will divide my crown with her,
And all the priests and friars in my realm
Shall in procession sing her endless praise.
A statelier pyramis to her I 'll rear
Than Rhodope's or Memphis' ever was;

4. *"Astræa,"* daughter of Zeus and Themis, hence goddess of Justice (and so of the observance of promises).—C. H. H.

6. *"Adonis' gardens."* "The proverb alluded to seems always to have been used in a bad sense, for things which make a fair show for a few days, and then wither away; but the author of this play, desirous of making a show of his learning, without considering its propriety, has made the Dauphin apply it as an encomium" (Blakeway). Cp. *Faerie Queene,* III, vi. 29; F. 1, *"Garden."*—I. G.

22. *"Than Rhodope's or Memphis',"* Hanmer's emendation; Ff. *"or Memphis";* Capell's *"of Memphis"* has been generally adopted. Pliny, writing of the pyramids near Memphis, records that "the

In memory of her when she is dead,
Her ashes, in an urn more precious
Than the rich-jewel'd coffer of Darius,
Transported shall be at high festivals
Before the kings and queens of France.
No longer on Saint Denis will we cry,
But Joan la Pucelle shall be France's saint.
Come in, and let us banquet royally,
After this golden day of victory.

[*Flourish. Exeunt.*

fairest and most commended for workmanship was built at the cost and charges of *one Rhodope,* a verie strumpet."—I. G.

25. *"the rich-jewel'd coffer of Darius";* referred to by Plutarch in his *Life of Alexander,* as the "preciousest thing, and the richest that was gotten of all spoyls and riches, taken at the overthrow of Darius . . . he said he would put the Iliads of Homer into it, as the worthiest thing."—I. G.

ACT SECOND

Scene I

Before Orleans.

Enter a Sergeant of a band, with two Sentinels.

Serg. Sirs, take your places and be vigilant:
If any noise or soldier you perceive
Near to the walls, by some apparent sign
Let us have knowledge at the court of guard.
First. Sent. Sergeant, you shall. [*Exit Sergeant.*
Thus are poor servitors,
When others sleep upon their quiet beds,
Constrain'd to watch in darkness, rain and cold.

Enter Talbot, Bedford, Burgundy, and forces, with scaling-ladders, their drums beating a dead march.

Tal. Lord Regent, and redoubted Burgundy,

8. *"redoubted Burgundy";* Duke of Burgundy, surnamed Philip the Good.—I. G.

He succeeded to the title in 1419, at which time his father was murdered. The murder is one of the darkest spots in that land of perfidy and blood. In pursuance of a special arrangement, he went to confer with the Dauphin at Montereau upon Yonne. At his coming he found that three barriers, each having a gate, had been drawn across the bridge, and was told that the Dauphin had been waiting for him more than an hour. Having with twelve attendants passed two of the gates, which were quickly locked behind him, he

By whose approach the regions of Artois,
Wallon and Picardy are friends to us,
This happy night the Frenchmen are secure,
Having all day caroused and banqueted:
Embrace we then this opportunity,
As fitting best to quittance their deceit
Contrived by art and baleful sorcery.

Bed. Coward of France! how much he wrongs his fame,
Despairing of his own arm's fortitude,
To join with witches and the help of hell!

Bur. Traitors have never other company.
But what 's that Pucelle whom they term so pure?

Tal. A maid, they say.

Bed. A maid! and be so martial!

Bur. Pray God she prove not masculine ere long,
If underneath the standard of the French
She carry armor as she hath begun.

there bent his knee to the Dauphin, who had come forth to meet him; and, while addressing him in that posture, was struck in the face with an axe by one of the Dauphin's servants, and before he could make any defense, a multitude of wounds laid him dead on the ground. Of his attendants one escaped, another was slain, and the rest remained as captives in the hands of the assassins. This rare piece of inhumanity had the effect of throwing his son into close alliance with England, which was further strengthened and prolonged by the marriage of Bedford with his sister in 1423. Her death, which occurred in 1432, greatly loosened the bonds between her brother and the regent. At length, under the mediation of the pope, a congress of English, French, and Burgundian ambassadors was held at Arras in 1435, which ended in a reconciliation of Burgundy and the Dauphin, who had then succeeded to the crown of France. The Poet represents the detaching of Burgundy from England to have been brought about by Joan of Arc; for which the only historical ground is, that Joan wrote a letter to the duke urging upon him the course which he afterwards took.—H. N. H.

Tal. Well, let them practice and converse with spirits:
God is our fortress, in whose conquering name
Let us resolve to scale their flinty bulwarks.
Bed. Ascend, brave Talbot; we will follow thee.
Tal. Not all together: better far, I guess,
That we do make our entrance several ways;
That, if it chance the one of us do fail,
The other yet may rise against their force.
Bed. Agreed: I 'll to yond corner.
Bur. And I to this.
Tal. And here will Talbot mount, or make his grave.
Now, Salisbury, for thee, and for the right
Of English Henry, shall this night appear
How much in duty I am bound to both.
Sent. Arm! arm! the enemy doth make assault!
[*Cry: 'St George,' 'A Talbot.'*

The French leap over the walls in their shirts. Enter, several ways, the Bastard of Orleans, Alençon, and Reignier, half ready, and half unready.

Alen. How now, my lords! what, all unready so?

29. *"all together";* Rowe's emendation of *"altogether"* of Ff.—I. G.

39. *"Unready"* is *undressed.* Thus in Chapman's *Monsieur D'Olive,* 1606: "You are not going to bed; I see you are not yet *unready.*" A stage direction in *The Two Maids of Moreclock,* 1609, says, "Enter James *unready,* in his nightcap, garterless." So in Cotgrave: *"Deshabiller,* to unclothe, *make unreddie,* put or take off clothes."—H. N. H.

Bast. Unready! aye, and glad we 'scaped so well.
Reig. 'Twas time, I trow, to wake and leave our beds,
Hearing alarums at our chamber-doors.
Alen. Of all exploits since first I follow'd arms,
Ne'er heard I of a warlike enterprise
More venturous or desperate than this.
Bast. I think this Talbot be a fiend of hell.
Reig. If not of hell, the heavens, sure, favor him.
Alen. Here cometh Charles: I marvel how he sped.
Bast. Tut, holy Joan was his defensive guard.

Enter Charles and La Pucelle.

Char. Is this thy cunning, thou deceitful dame?
Didst thou at first, to flatter us withal,
Make us partakers of a little gain,
That now our loss might be ten times so much?
Puc. Wherefore is Charles impatient with his friend?
At all times will you have my power alike?
Sleeping or waking must I still prevail,
Or will you blame and lay the fault on me?
Improvident soldiers! had your watch been good,
This sudden mischief never could have fall'n.
Char. Duke of Alençon, this was your default,
That, being captain of the watch to-night,
Did look no better to that weighty charge.

40. *"ay, and glad"*; Ff., *"I and glad"*; Pope, *"I am glad."*—I. G.

Alen. Had all your quarters been as safely kept
As that whereof I had the government,
We had not been thus shamefully surprised.
Bast. Mine was secure.
Reig. And so was mine, my lord.
Char. And, for myself, most part of all this night,
Within her quarter and mine own precinct
I was employ'd in passing to and fro,
About relieving of the sentinels:
Then how or which way should they first break in?
Puc. Question, my lords, no further of the case,
How or which way: 'tis sure they found some place
But weakly guarded, where the breach was made.
And now there rests no other shift but this;
To gather our soldiers, scatter'd and dispersed,
And lay new platforms to endamage them.

Alarum. Enter an English Soldier, crying 'A Talbot! a Talbot!' They fly, leaving their clothes behind.

Sold. I 'll be so bold to take what they have left.
The cry of Talbot serves me for a sword;
For I have loaden me with many spoils,
Using no other weapon but his name. [*Exit.*

63. *"your quarters"; "your,"* so F. 1.; Ff. 2, 3, 4, *"our"; "quarters";* so Ff. 1, 2, 3; F. 4, *"Quarter."*—I. G.

77. Plans or schemes. The *plot* of a play was formerly called the *platform.*—H. N. H.

81. This retaking of Orleans is a fiction of the Poet's. In fact, little advance was made towards taking the city after the death

Scene II

Orleans. Within the town.

Enter Talbot, Bedford, Burgundy, a Captain, and others.

Bed. The day begins to break, and night is fled,
Whose pitchy mantle over-veil'd the earth.
Here sound retreat, and cease our hot pursuit.
[*Retreat sounded.*

Tal. Bring forth the body of old Salisbury,
And here advance it in the market-place,
The middle center of this cursed town.
Now have I paid my vow unto his soul;
For every drop of blood was drawn from him
There hath at least five Frenchmen died to-night.
And that hereafter ages may behold
What ruin happen'd in revenge of him,
Within their chiefest temple I'll erect
A tomb, wherein his corpse shall be interr'd:
Upon the which, that every one may read,

of Salisbury; though, according to Holinshed, Talbot, Fastolfe, and others, "caused bastilles to be made round about the citie, and left nothing unattempted, that might advance their purpose." Thenceforth the siege was turned into a blockade, but supplies and reinforcements were still received into the place. We are told that on one occasion the French, emboldened by success, made an assault on the bastille that was kept by Talbot; who "issued foorth against them, and gave them so sharp an incounter, that they, not able to withstand his puissance, fled like sheepe before the woolfe again into the citie." After "the maid" and her convoy entered the town, which was in April, 1429, the English did not stir from their entrenchments; and in May they gave over and withdrew.—H. N. H.

Shall be engraved the sack of Orleans,
The treacherous manner of his mournful death
And what a terror he had been to France.
But, lords, in all our bloody massacre,
I muse we met not with the Dauphin's grace,
His new-come champion, virtuous Joan of Arc,
Nor any of his false confederates.

Bed. 'Tis thought, Lord Talbot, when the fight began,
Roused on the sudden from their drowsy beds,
They did amongst the troops of armed men
Leap o'er the walls for refuge in the field.

Bur. Myself, as far as I could well discern
For smoke and dusky vapors of the night,
Am sure I scared the Dauphin and his trull,
When arm in arm they both came swiftly running,
Like to a pair of loving turtle-doves
That could not live asunder day or night.
After that things are set in order here,
We 'll follow them with all the power we have.

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. All hail, my lords! Which of this princely train
Call ye the warlike Talbot, for his acts
So much applauded through the realm of France?

19. *"muse"* = marvel.—H. N. H.
20. *"Arc,"* Rowe's emendation of *"Acre"* of Ff.—I. G.

Tal. Here is the Talbot: who would speak with
him?
Mess. The virtuous lady, Countess of Auvergne,
With modesty admiring thy renown,
By me entreats, great lord, thou wouldst vouch-
safe
To visit her poor castle where she lies,
That she may boast she hath beheld the man
Whose glory fills the world with loud report.
Bur. Is it even so? Nay, then, I see our wars
Will turn unto a peaceful comic sport,
When ladies crave to be encounter'd with.
You may not, my lord, despise her gentle suit.
Tal. Ne'er trust me then; for when a world of men
Could not prevail with all their oratory,
Yet hath a woman's kindness over-ruled:
And therefore tell her I return great thanks,
And in submission will attend on her.
Will not your honors bear me company?
Bed. No, truly; it is more than manners will:
And I have heard it said, unbidden guests
Are often welcomest when they are gone.
Tal. Well then, alone, since there 's no remedy,
I mean to prove this lady's courtesy.
Come hither, captain. [*Whispers.*] You per-
ceive my mind?
Capt. I do, my lord, and mean accordingly.
[*Exeunt.*

38. *"Auvergne";* Rowe's emendation of F. 1, *"Ouergne";* Ff. 2, 3, *"Auergne";* F. 4, *"Avergne."*—I. G.

41. *"Lies,"* that is, where she dwells.—H. N. H.

Scene III

Auvergne. The Countess's castle.

Enter the Countess and her Porter.

Count. Porter, remember what I gave in charge;
And when you have done so, bring the keys to me.
Port. Madam, I will. [*Exit.*
Count. The plot is laid: if all things fall out right,
I shall as famous be by this exploit
As Scythian Tomyris by Cyrus' death.
Great is the rumor of this dreadful knight,
And his achievements of no less account:
Fain would mine eyes be witness with mine ears,
To give their censure of these rare reports.

Enter Messenger and Talbot.

Mess. Madam,
According as your ladyship desired,
By message craved, so is Lord Talbot come.
Count. And he is welcome. What! is this the man?
Mess. Madam, it is.
Count. Is this the scourge of France?
Is this the Talbot, so much fear'd abroad
That with his name the mothers still their babes?
I see report is fabulous and false:

6. *"Tomyris,"* queen of the Scythian tribe of the Massagetæ, who defeated Cyrus' invading force, and captured and slew himself (B.C. 529).—C. H. H.

I thought I should have seen some Hercules,
A second Hector, for his grim aspect,
And large proportion of his strong-knit limbs.
Alas, this is a child, a silly dwarf!
It cannot be this weak and writhled shrimp
Should strike such terror to his enemies.

Tal. Madam, I have been bold to trouble you;
But since your ladyship is not at leisure,
I 'll sort some other time to visit you.

Count. What means he now? Go ask him whither he goes.

Mess. Stay, my Lord Talbot; for my lady craves
To know the cause of your abrupt departure.

Tal. Marry, for that she 's in a wrong belief,
I go to certify her Talbot 's here.

Re-enter Porter with keys.

Count. If thou be he, then art thou prisoner.

Tal. Prisoner! to whom?

Count. To me, blood-thirsty lord;
And for that cause I train'd thee to my house.
Long time thy shadow had been thrall to me,
For in my gallery thy picture hangs:
But now the substance shall endure the like,
And I will chain these legs and arms of thine,
That hast by tyranny these many years
Wasted our country, slain our citizens,
And sent our sons and husbands captivate.

23. *"Writhled"* for *wrinkled.* Thus Spenser: "Her *writhled* skin as rough as maple rind." And Marston, in his fourth Satire: "Cold *writhled* eld, his lives web almost spent."—H. N. H.

Tal. Ha, ha, ha!
Count. Laughest thou, wretch? thy mirth shall turn to moan.
Tal. I laugh to see your ladyship so fond
To think that you have aught but Talbot's shadow
Whereon to practice your severity.
Count. Why, art not thou the man?
Tal. I am indeed.
Count. Then have I substance too.
Tal. No, no, I am but shadow of myself:
You are deceived, my substance is not here;
For what you see is but the smallest part
And least proportion of humanity:
I tell you, madam, were the whole frame here,
It is of such a spacious lofty pitch,
Your roof were not sufficient to contain 't.
Count. This is a riddling merchant for the nonce;
He will be here, and yet he is not here:
How can these contrarieties agree?
Tal. That will I show you presently.

[*Winds his horn. Drums strike up: a peal of ordnance. Enter Soldiers.*

49. *"I substance";* Vaughan proposed to read *"I shadow,* aye and substance."—I. G.

57. The term *"merchant,"* which was often applied to the lowest kind of dealers, seems anciently to have been used on these familiar occasions in contradistinction to *gentleman;* signifying that the person showed by his behavior he was a low fellow. Thus in Romeo and Juliet, the nurse says, "I pray you, sir, what saucy *merchant* was this, that was so full of his ropery?"—*"For the nonce"* is for the *purpose* or the *occasion.*—H. N. H.

"for the nonce"; in Shakespeare's undoubted works this phrase means "fit for the occasion"; here it is rather "without parallel," "singular in his kind."—C. H. H.

How say you, madam? are you now persuaded
That Talbot is but shadow of himself?
These are his substance, sinews, arms and strength,
With which he yoketh your rebellious necks,
Razeth your cities and subverts your towns
And in a moment makes them desolate.

Count. Victorious Talbot! pardon my abuse:
I find thou art no less than fame hath bruited,
And more than may be gather'd by thy shape.
Let my presumption not provoke thy wrath;
For I am sorry that with reverence
I did not entertain thee as thou art.

Tal. Be not dismay'd, fair lady; nor misconstrue
The mind of Talbot, as you did mistake
The outward composition of his body.
What you have done hath not offended me;
Nor other satisfaction do I crave,
But only, with your patience, that we may
Taste of your wine and see what cates you have;
For soldiers' stomachs always serve them well.

Count. With all my heart, and think me honored
To feast so great a warrior in my house.

[*Exeunt.*

Tal. "How say you, madam? are you now persuaded
That Talbot is but shadow of himself?
These are his substance, sinews, arms, and strength,"

King Henry VI. Part 1. Act 2, Scene 3.

Scene IV

London. The Temple-garden.

Enter the Earls of Somerset, Suffolk, and Warwick; Richard Plantagenet, Vernon, and another Lawyer.

Plan. Great lords and gentlemen, what means this silence?
Dare no man answer in a case of truth?
Suf. Within the Temple-hall we were too loud;
The garden here is more convenient.
Plan. Then say at once if I maintain'd the truth;
Or else was wrangling Somerset in the error?

1. This Richard Plantagenet was son to the earl of Cambridge who was overtaken in a plot against the life of Henry V, and executed at Southampton. That earl was a younger brother of Edward, duke of York, who fell at the battle of Agincourt, and had no child to succeed him. So that on his father's side Richard was grandson to Edmund of Langley, the fifth son of Edward III. His mother was Anne, sister of Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, and great-granddaughter to Lionel, duke of Clarence, who was the third son of Edward III. In 1425, the fourth year of Henry VI, Richard was restored to the rights and titles that had been forfeited by his father, and was made duke of York. After the death of Bedford, in 1435, he succeeded him as regent of France; was recalled two years later, and appointed again in 1441. Some three years after, being supplanted in that office by his rival, the duke of Somerset, he took the government of Ireland instead, from whence he began to stretch forth his hand to the crown.—H. N. H.

6. The earl of Somerset at this time was John Beaufort, grandson to John of Ghent by Catharine Swynford, and of course nephew to the duke of Exeter and the bishop of Winchester. He was afterwards advanced to the rank of duke, and died in 1432, leaving his title to his brother Edmund; his only surviving child being Margaret, who was married to the earl of Richmond, and thence became the mother of Henry VII. So that there were two dukes of Somerset

Suf. Faith, I have been a truant in the law,
And never yet could frame my will to it;
And therefore frame the law unto my will.
Som. Judge you, my lord of Warwick, then, between us.
War. Between two hawks, which flies the higher pitch;
Between two dogs, which hath the deeper mouth;
Between two blades, which bears the better temper:
Between two horses, which doth bear him best;
Between two girls, which hath the merriest eye;
I have perhaps some shallow spirit of judgment:
But in these nice sharp quillets of the law,
Good faith, I am no wiser than a daw.
Plan. Tut, tut, here is a mannerly forbearance:
The truth appears so naked on my side
That any purblind eye may find it out.
Som. And on my side it is so well apparel'd,

in the time of this play, though the Poet does not distinguish them; or rather he prolongs the life of John several years beyond its actual date.—H. N. H.

6. *"in the error";* Johnson (adopted by Capell), *"i' the right";* Hudson, *"in error."*—I. G.

11. The present earl of Warwick was Richard Beauchamp, surnamed the Good. He was esteemed the greatest of the captains formed in the great school of Henry V. After the death of Exeter, he was appointed governor of the young king in 1426. When York was first recalled from the regency of France, in 1437, Warwick succeeded him, with the title of Lieutenant-general and Governor of France, and died at Rouen in May, 1439. Shakespeare, however. keeps him alive till the end of the play, or at least does not distinguish nim from Henry, who succeeded him.—H. N. H.

So clear, so shining and so evident
That it will glimmer through a blind man's eye.
Plan. Since you are tongue-tied and so loath to speak,
In dumb significants proclaim your thoughts:
Let him that is a true-born gentleman,
And stands upon the honor of his birth,
If he suppose that I have pleaded truth,
From off this brier pluck a white rose with me.
Som. Let him that is no coward nor no flatterer,
But dare maintain the party of the truth,
Pluck a red rose from off this thorn with me.
War. I love no colors, and without all color
Of base insinuating flattery
I pluck this white rose with Plantagenet.
Suf. I pluck this red rose with young Somerset,
And say withal I think he held the right.
Ver. Stay, lords and gentlemen, and pluck no more,
Till you conclude that he, upon whose side
The fewest roses are cropp'd from the tree,
Shall yield the other in the right opinion.
Som. Good Master Vernon, it is well objected:
If I have fewest, I subscribe in silence.
Plan. And I.
Ver. Then for the truth and plainness of the case,
I pluck this pale and maiden blossom here,
Giving my verdict on the white rose side.
Som. Prick not your finger as you pluck it off,

34. *"Colors"* is here used ambiguously for *tints* and *deceits*.—H. N. H.

Lest bleeding you do paint the white rose red,
And fall on my side so, against your will.
Ver. If I, my lord, for my opinion bleed,
Opinion shall be surgeon to my hurt
And keep me on the side where still I am.
Som. Well, well, come on: who else?
Law. Unless my study and my books be false,
The argument you held was wrong in you;
[*To Somerset.*
In sign whereof I pluck a white rose too.
Plan. Now, Somerset, where is your argument?
Som. Here in my scabbard, meditating that
Shall dye your white rose in a bloody red.
Plan. Meantime your cheeks do counterfeit our roses;
For pale they look with fear, as witnessing
The truth on our side.
Som. No, Plantagenet,
'Tis not for fear but anger that thy cheeks
Blush for pure shame to counterfeit our roses,
And yet thy tongue will not confess thy error.
Plan. Hath not thy rose a canker, Somerset?
Som. Hath not thy rose a thorn, Plantagenet?
Plan. Aye, sharp and piercing, to maintain his truth;
Whiles thy consuming canker eats his falsehood.
Som. Well, I 'll find friends to wear my bleeding roses,
That shall maintain what I have said is true,
Where false Plantagenet dare not be seen.

Plan. "Hath not thy rose a canker, Somerset?"
Som. "Hath not thy rose a thorn, Plantagenet?"

King Henry VI. Part 1, Act 2, Scene 4.

Plan. Now, by this maiden blossom in my hand,
I scorn thee and thy fashion, peevish boy.
Suf. Turn not thy scorns this way, Plantagenet.
Plan. Proud Pole, I will, and scorn both him and thee.
Suf. I 'll turn my part thereof into thy throat.
Som. Away, away, good William de la Pole!
We grace the yeoman by conversing with him.
War. Now, by God's will, thou wrong'st him, Somerset;
His grandfather was Lionel Duke of Clarence,
Third son to the third Edward King of England:
Spring crestless yeoman from so deep a root?
Plan. He bears him on the place's privilege,
Or durst not, for his craven heart, say thus.
Som. By him that made me, I 'll maintain my words
On any plot of ground in Christendom.
Was not thy father, Richard Earl of Cambridge,
For treason executed in our late king's days?

76. *"Fashion"*= Faction.—H. N. H.

83. *"His grandfather was Lionel Duke of Clarence";* this is erroneous; Duke Lionel was his maternal great-great-grandfather.—I. G.

86. It does not appear that the *"Temple"* had any privilege of sanctuary at this time, being then, as now, the residence of law students. The author might imagine it to have derived some such privilege from the knights templars, or knights hospitallers, both religious orders, its former inhabitants. It is true, blows may have been prohibited by the regulations of the society: the author perhaps did not much consider the matter, but represents it as suited his purpose.—H. N. H.

91. *"executed";* Pope, *"headed";* Steevens, *"execute"* (probably to be read as a dissyllable).—I. G.

And, by his treason, stand'st not thou attainted,
Corrupted, and exempt from ancient gentry?
His trespass yet lives guilty in thy blood;
And, till thou be restored, thou art a yeoman.

Plan. My father was attached, not attainted,
Condemn'd to die for treason, but no traitor;
And that I 'll prove on better men than Somerset,
Were growing time once ripen'd to my will.
For your partaker Pole and you yourself,
I 'll note you in my book of memory,
To scourge you for this apprehension:
Look to it well and say you are well warn'd.

Som. Ah, thou shalt find us ready for thee still;
And know us by these colors for thy foes,
For these my friends in spite of thee shall wear.

Plan. And, by my soul, this pale and angry rose,
As cognizance of my blood-drinking hate,
Will I for ever and my faction wear,
Until it wither with me to my grave,
Or flourish to the height of my degree.

Suf. Go forward and be choked with thy ambition!
And so farewell until I meet thee next. [*Exit.*

Som. Have with thee, Pole. Farewell, ambitious Richard. [*Exit.*

Plan. How I am braved and must perforce endure it!

War. This blot that they object against your house

114. *"Have with thee,"* I go with thee.—C. H. H.

Shall be wiped out in the next parliament
Call'd for the truce of Winchester and Gloucester;
And if thou be not then created York,
I will not live to be accounted Warwick.
Meantime, in signal of my love to thee,
Against proud Somerset and William Pole,
Will I upon thy party wear this rose:
And here I prophesy: this brawl to-day,
Grown to this faction in the Temple-garden,
Shall send between the red rose and the white
A thousand souls to death and deadly night.

Plan. Good Master Vernon, I am bound to you,
That you on my behalf would pluck a flower.

Ver. In your behalf still will I wear the same.

Law. And so will I.

Plan. Thanks, gentle sir.
Come, let us four to dinner: I dare say
This quarrel will drink blood another day.

[*Exeunt.*

117. *"wiped"*; Ff. 2, 3, 4, *"wip't"*; F. 1, *"whipt."*—I. G.
127. *"a thousand"*; Collier MS., *"Ten thousand."*—I. G.
132. *"gentle sir"*; so Ff. 2, 3, 4; F. 1, *"gentle."* Anon. conj., *"gentlemen."*—I. G.

Scene V

The Tower of London.

Enter Mortimer, brought in a chair, and Jailers.

Mor. Kind keepers of my weak decaying age,
Let dying Mortimer here rest himself.
Even like a man new haled from the rack,
So fare my limbs with long imprisonment;
And these gray locks, the pursuivants of death,
Nestor-like aged in an age of care,
Argue the end of Edmund Mortimer.
These eyes, like lamps whose wasting oil is spent,
Wax dim, as drawing to their exigent;
Weak shoulders, overborne with burthening grief,

1. *"enter Mortimer";* Edmund Mortimer served under Henry V in 1422, and died in his castle in Ireland in 1424.—I. G.

This scene is at variance with history. Edmund Mortimer, who was trusted and employed by Henry V throughout his reign, died of the plague in his own castle at Trim, in Ireland, in 1424; being then only thirty-two years old. His uncle, Sir John Mortimer, was indeed a prisoner in the Tower, and was executed not long before the earl of March's death, being charged with an attempt to make his escape in order to stir up an insurrection in Wales. The Poet was led into error by the popular historians of his time. Hall relates that, in the third year of Henry VI, "Edmond Mortimer, the last earl of Marche of that name, (*whiche long time had bene restrayned from his liberty,* and finally waxed lame,) deceased without issue, whose inheritance descended to the Lord Richard Plantagenet." And in a previous passage he has observed, "The erle of Marche was ever *kepte in the courte* under such a keeper that he could neither do nor attempt any thyng agaynste the kyng wythout his knowledge, and died without issue."—H. N. H.

6. *"an age of care";* Collier MS., *"a cage of care."*—I. G.

9. *"exigent,"* extreme moment, end.—C. H. H.

And pithless arms, like to a wither'd vine
That droops his sapless branches to the ground:
Yet are these feet, whose strengthless stay is numb,
Unable to support this lump of clay,
Swift-winged with desire to get a grave,
As witting I no other comfort have.
But tell me, keeper, will my nephew come?

First Jail. Richard Plantagenet, my lord, will come:
We sent unto the Temple, unto his chamber;
And answer was return'd that he will come.

Mor. Enough: my soul shall then be satisfied.
Poor gentleman! his wrong doth equal mine.
Since Henry Monmouth first began to reign,
Before whose glory I was great in arms,
This loathsome sequestration have I had;
And even since then hath Richard been obscured,
Deprived of honor and inheritance.
But now the arbitrator of despairs,
Just death, kind umpire of men's miseries,
With sweet enlargement doth dismiss me hence:
I would his troubles likewise were expired,
That so he might recover what was lost.

Enter Richard Plantagenet.

First Jail. My lord, your loving nephew now is come.

Mor. Richard Plantagenet, my friend, is he come?

Plan. Aye, noble uncle, thus ignobly used,
Your nephew, late despised Richard, comes.
Mor. Direct mine arms I may embrace his neck,
And in his bosom spend my latter gasp:
O, tell me when my lips do touch his cheeks,
That I may kindly give one fainting kiss.
And now declare, sweet stem from York's great stock,
Why didst thou say of late thou wert despised?
Plan. First, lean thine aged back against mine arm;
And, in that case, I'll tell thee my disease.
This day, in argument upon a case,
Some words there grew 'twixt Somerset and me;
Among which terms he used his lavish tongue
And did upbraid me with my father's death:
With obloquy set bars before my tongue,
Else with the like I had requited him.
Therefore, good uncle, for my father's sake,
In honor of a true Plantagenet
And for alliance sake, declare the cause
My father, Earl of Cambridge, lost his head.
Mor. That cause, fair nephew, that imprison'd me
And hath detain'd me all my flowering youth
Within a loathsome dungeon, there to pine,
Was cursed instrument of his decease.
Plan. Discover more at large what cause that was,
For I am ignorant and cannot guess.

44. *"Disease"* for *uneasiness, trouble,* or *grief.* It is used in this sense by other ancient writers.—H. N. H.

53. *"alliance,"* kinship.—C. H. H.

Mor. I will, if that my fading breath permit,
And death approach not ere my tale be done.
Henry the Fourth, grandfather to this king,
Deposed his nephew Richard, Edward's son,
The first-begotten and the lawful heir
Of Edward king, the third of that descent:
During whose reign the Percies of the north,
Finding his usurpation most unjust,
Endeavor'd my advancement to the throne.
The reason moved these warlike lords to this
Was, for that—young King Richard thus removed,
Leaving no heir begotten of his body—
I was the next by birth and parentage;
For by my mother I derived am
From Lionel Duke of Clarence, the third son
To King Edward the Third; whereas he
From John of Gaunt doth bring his pedigree,
Being but fourth of that heroic line.
But mark: as in this haughty great attempt
They labored to plant the rightful heir,
I lost my liberty and they their lives.
Long after this, when Henry the Fifth,
Succeeding his father Bolingbroke, did reign,
Thy father, Earl of Cambridge, then derived
From famous Edmund Langley, Duke of York,
Marrying my sister that thy mother was,

64. *Nephew* has sometimes the power of the Latin *nepos,* signifying grandchild, and is used with great laxity among our ancient English writers. It is here used instead of *cousin.*—H. N. H.

74. *"For by my mother I derived am";* "mother" should strictly be "grandmother," *i. e.* his father's mother.—I. G.

Again in pity of my hard distress.
Levied an army, weening to redeem
And have install'd me in the diadem:
But, as the rest, so fell that noble earl
And was beheaded. Thus the Mortimers,
In whom the title rested, were suppress'd.
Plan. Of which, my lord, your honor is the last.
Mor. True; and thou seest that I no issue have,
And that my fainting words do warrant death:
Thou art my heir; the rest I wish thee gather:
But yet be wary in thy studious care.
Plan. Thy grave admonishments prevail with me:
But yet, methinks, my father's execution
Was nothing less than bloody tyranny.
Mor. With silence, nephew, be thou politic:
Strong-fixed is the house of Lancaster,
And like a mountain not to be removed.
But now thy uncle is removing hence;
As princes do their courts, when they are cloy'd
With long continuance in a settled place.
Plan. O, uncle, would some part of my young years
Might but redeem the passage of your age!
Mor. Thou dost then wrong me, as that slaughter doth
Which giveth many wounds when one will kill.

88. *"weening,"* that is, *thinking.* This is another departure from history. Cambridge levied no army, but was apprehended at Southampton, the night before Henry sailed from that town for France, on the information of this very earl of March.—H. N. H.

96. That is, I acknowledge thee to be my heir; the consequences growing from thence I wish you to follow out for yourself.—H. N. H.

Mourn not, except thou sorrow for my good;
Only give order for my funeral:
And so farewell, and fair be all thy hopes,
And prosperous be thy life in peace and war!
[*Dies.*

Plan. And peace, nor war, befall thy parting soul!
In prison hast thou spent a pilgrimage,
And like a hermit overpass'd thy days.
Well, I will lock his counsel in my breast;
And what I do imagine let that rest.
Keepers, convey him hence, and I myself
Will see his burial better than his life.
[*Exeunt Jailors, bearing out the body of Mortimer.*
Here dies the dusky torch of Mortimer,
Choked with ambition of the meaner sort:
And for those wrongs, those bitter injuries,
Which Somerset hath offer'd to my house,
I doubt not but with honor to redress;
And therefore haste I to the parliament,
Either to be restored to my blood,
Or make my ill the advantage of my good.
[*Exit.*

113. *"fair be all"*; Theobald; *"fair befal."*—I. G.

123. *"choked with ambition of the meaner sort," i. e.* "shifted by the ambition of those whose right to the crown was inferior to his own."—Clarke.

129. *"ill the advantage"*; *"ill,"* Theobald's emendation of *"will"* of the Ff. Collier MS., *"will the advancer."*—I. G.

ACT THIRD

Scene I

London. The Parliament-house.

Flourish. Enter King, Exeter, Gloucester, Warwick, Somerset, and Suffolk; the Bishop of Winchester, Richard Plantagenet, and others. Gloucester offers to put up a bill; Winchester snatches it, tears it.

Win. Comest thou with deep premeditated lines,
With written pamphlets studiously devised,
Humphrey of Gloucester? If thou canst accuse,
Or aught intend'st to lay unto my charge.
Do it without invention, suddenly;
As I with sudden and extemporal speech
Purpose to answer what thou canst object.

Glou. Presumptuous priest! this place commands my patience,
Or thou shouldst find thou hast dishonor'd me.
Think not, although in writing I preferr'd
The manner of thy vile outrageous crimes,
That therefore I have forged, or am not able

Sc. 1. London. The Parliament-house. The writer in this scene combines three events separated by considerable intervals in Holinshed, and still further in reality: the riot between the followers of Gloucester and Winchester; their formal reconciliation; and the restitution of Plantagenet. The second took place not in London, but at the parliament of Leicester, 1426.—H. N. H.

Verbatim to rehearse the method of my pen:
No, prelate; such is thy audacious wickedness,
Thy lewd, pestiferous and dissentious pranks,
As very infants prattle of thy pride.
Thou art a most pernicious usurer,
Froward by nature, enemy to peace;
Lascivious, wanton, more than well beseems
A man of thy profession and degree;
And for thy treachery, what's more manifest
In that thou laid'st a trap to take my life,
As well at London-bridge as at the Tower.
Beside, I fear me, if thy thoughts are sifted
The king, thy sovereign, is not quite exempt
From envious malice of thy swelling heart.

Win. Gloucester, I do defy thee. Lords, vouchsafe
To give me hearing what I shall reply.
If I were covetous, ambitious or perverse,
As he will have me, how am I so poor?

13. *"Verbatim,"* orally.—C. H. H.

23. This of course refers to the affair explained in the note to Act i. sc. 3, l. 91. Holinshed relates that upon the occasion of that furious riot "the archbishop of Canterburie and the duke of Quimbre, called the prince of Portingale, rode eight times in one daie betweene the two parties, and so the matter was staied for a time. But the bishop of Winchester, to cleere himselfe of blame so far as he might, and to charge his nephue the lord protectour with all the fault, wrote a letter to the regent of France." The regent, learning how things stood at home, made Warwick his lieutenant in France, hastened over to England, and called the parliament, which began at Leicester March 25, 1426; "where the duke of Bedford openlie rebuked the lords in generall, bicause that they in time of warre, thorough their privie malice and inward grudge, had almost mooved the people to warre and commotion, in which time all men should be of one mind, hart, and consent. In this parlement the duke of Glocester laid certeine articles to the bishop of Winchester his charge."—H. N. H.

Or how haps it I seek not to advance
Or raise myself, but keep my wonted calling?
And for dissension, who preferreth peace
More than I do?—except I be provoked.
No, my good lords, it is not that offends;
It is not that that hath incensed the duke:
It is, because no one should sway but he;
No one but he should be about the king;
And that engenders thunder in his breast,
And makes him roar these accusations forth.
But he shall know I am as good—

Glou. As good!
Thou bastard of my grandfather!

Win. Aye, lordly sir; for what are you, I pray,
But one imperious in another's throne?

Glou. Am I not protector, saucy priest?

Win. And am not I a prelate of the church?

Glou. Yes, as an outlaw in a castle keeps
And useth it to patronage his theft.

Win. Unreverent Gloster!

Glou. Thou art reverent
Touching thy spiritual function, not thy life.

Win. Rome shall remedy this.

War. Roam thither, then.

Som. My lord, it were your duty to forbear.

33. *"preferreth,"* promotes.—C. H. H.

42. Winchester was a natural son of John of Gaunt.—C. H. H.

49. *"reverent,"* reverend, worthy of reverence. The two forms "reverent" and "reverend" were used indiscriminately in the two senses. —C. H. H.

51, 52. The jingle between roam and Rome is common to other writers. Thus Nash, in his *Lenten Stuff*, 1599: "Three hundred thousand people *roamed* to *Rome* for purgatorie pills."—H. N. H.

War. Aye, see the bishop be not overborne.
Som. Methinks my lord should be religious,
And know the office that belongs to such.
War. Methinks his lordship should be humbler;
It fitteth not a prelate so to plead.
Som. Yes, when his holy state is touch'd so near.
War. State holy or unhallow'd, what of that?
Is not his grace protector to the king?
Plan. [*Aside*] Plantagenet, I see, must hold his tongue,
Lest it be said, 'Speak, sirrah, when you should;
Must your bold verdict enter talk with lords?'
Else would I have a fling at Winchester.
King. Uncles of Gloucester and of Winchester,
The special watchmen of our English weal,
I would prevail, if prayers might prevail,
To join your hearts in love and amity.
O, what a scandal is it to our crown,
That two such noble peers as ye should jar!
Believe me, lords, my tender years can tell
Civil dissension is a viperous worm
That gnaws the bowels of the commonwealth.
[*A noise within, 'Down with the tawny-coats!'*
What tumult 's this?
War. An uproar, I dare warrant,
Begun through malice of the bishop's men.
[*A noise again, 'Stones! stones!'*

Enter Mayor.

May. O, my good lords, and virtuous Henry,

53. *"Ay, see";* Rowe's emendation of *"I, see"* of the Ff.; Hanmer, *"I'll see."*—I. G.

Pity the city of London, pity us!
The bishop and the Duke of Gloucester's men,
Forbidden late to carry any weapon,
Have fill'd their pockets full of pebble stones,
And banding themselves in contrary parts
Do pelt so fast at one another's pate
That many have their giddy brains knock'd out:
Our windows are broke down in every street,
And we for fear compell'd to shut our shops.

Enter Serving-men, in skirmish, with bloody pates.

King. We charge you, on allegiance to ourself,
To hold your slaughtering hands and keep the peace.
Pray, uncle Gloucester, mitigate this strife.
First Serv. Nay, if we be forbidden stones, we 'll fall to it with our teeth.
Sec. Serv. Do what you dare, we are as resolute.
[*Skirmish again.*
Glou. You of my household, leave this peevish broil
And set this unaccustom'd fight aside.
Third Serv. My lord, we know your grace to be a man
Just and upright; and, for your royal birth,
Inferior to none but to his majesty:
And ere that we will suffer such a prince,
So kind a father of the commonweal,
To be disgraced by an inkhorn mate,

99. That is, a *bookish person,* a *pedant,* applied in contempt to a

We and our wives and children all will fight,
And have our bodies slaughter'd by thy foes.
First Serv. Aye, and the very parings of our nails
Shall pitch a field when we are dead.
[*Begin again.*
Glou. Stay, stay, I say!
And if you love me, as you say you do,
Let me persuade you to forbear awhile.
King. O, how this discord doth afflict my soul!
Can you, my Lord of Winchester, behold
My sighs and tears and will not once relent?
Who should be pitiful, if you be not?
Or who should study to prefer a peace,
If holy churchmen take delight in broils?
War. Yield, my lord protector; yield, Winchester;
Except you mean with obstinate repulse
To slay your sovereign and destroy the realm.
You see what mischief and what murder too
Hath been enacted through your enmity;
Then be at peace, except ye thirst for blood.
Win. He shall submit, or I will never yield.
Glou. Compassion on the king commands me stoop;
Or I would see his heart out, ere the priest
Should ever get that privilege of me.
War. Behold, my Lord of Winchester, the duke
Hath banish'd moody discontented fury,

scholar. *Inkhornisms* and *inkhorn-terms* were common expressions. "If one chance to derive anie word from the Latine, which is insolent to their eares (as perchance they will take that phrase to be) they forthwith make a jest of it, and terme it an *inkhorne tearme.*"—*Preface* to Guazzo's *Civil Conversation,* 1586. Florio defines pedantaggine "a fond self-conceit in using of *ink-pot* words or affected Latinisms, as most pedants do, and is taken in an ill sense."—H. N. H.

As by his smoothed brows it doth appear:
Why look you still so stern and tragical?
Glou. Here, Winchester, I offer thee my hand.
King. Fie, uncle Beaufort! I have heard you preach
That malice was a great and grievous sin;
And will not you maintain the thing you teach,
But prove a chief offender in the same?
War. Sweet king! the bishop hath a kindly gird.
For shame, my lord of Winchester, relent!
What, shall a child instruct you what to do?
Win. Well, Duke of Gloucester, I will yield to thee;
Love for thy love and hand for hand I give.
Glou. [*Aside*] Aye, but, I fear me, with a hollow heart.—
See here, my friends and loving countrymen;
This token serveth for a flag of truce
Betwixt ourselves and all our followers:
So help me God, as I dissemble not!
Win. [*Aside*] So help me God, as I intend it not!
King. O loving uncle, kind Duke of Gloucester,
How joyful am I made by this contract!
Away, my masters! trouble us no more;
But join in friendship, as your lords have done.
First Serv. Content: I 'll to the surgeon's.
Sec. Serv. And so will I.
Third Serv. And I will see what physic the tavern affords. [*Exeunt Serving-men, Mayor, &c.*

131. *"hath a kindly gird,"* receives a meet rebuke.—C. H. H.

142. *"kind"*; Pope, *"gentle"*; Capell, *"kind, kind"*; Collier MS., *"and kind"*; probably the line should be read:—

"O loving ünde. || Kind Düke | of Glóucestér."—I. G.

War. Accept this scroll, most gracious sovereign,
Which is the right of Richard Plantagenet.
We do exhibit to your majesty.
Glou. Well urged, my Lord of Warwick: for, sweet prince,
An if your grace mark every circumstance,
You have great reason to do Richard right:
Especially for those occasions
At Eltham place I told your majesty.
King. And those occasions, uncle, were of force:
Therefore, my loving lords, our pleasure is
That Richard be restored to his blood.
War. Let Richard be restored to his blood;
So shall his father's wrongs be recompensed.
Win. As will the rest, so willeth Winchester.
King. If Richard will be true, not that alone
But all the whole inheritance I give
That doth belong unto the house of York,
From whence you spring by lineal descent.
Plan. Thy humble servant vows obedience
And humble service till the point of death.
King. Stoop then and set your knee against my foot;
And, in reguerdon of that duty done,
I gird thee with the valiant sword of York:
Rise, Richard, like a true Plantagenet,
And rise created princely Duke of York.
Plan. And so thrive Richard as thy foes may fall!

156. *"At Eltham Place I told,"* etc., *i. e.* which I told . . . at Eltham Place.—C. H. H.

173. Holinshed, after setting forth the reconciliation of the duke and the bishop, adds,—"But when the great fier of this dissen-

And as my duty springs, so perish they
That grudge one thought against your majesty!

All. Welcome, high prince, the mighty Duke of York!

Som. [*Aside*] Perish, base prince, ignoble Duke of York!

Glou. Now will it best avail your majesty
To cross the seas and to be crown'd in France:
The presence of a king engenders love
Amongst his subjects and his loyal friends,
As it disanimates his enemies.

King. When Gloucester says the word, King Henry goes;
For friendly counsel cuts off many foes.

Glou. Your ships already are in readiness.

[*Sennet. Flourish. Exeunt all but Exeter.*

Exe. Aye, we may march in England or in France,
Not seeing what is likely to ensue.
This late dissension grown betwixt the peers
Burns under feigned ashes of forged love,
And will at last break out into a flame:
As fester'd members rot but by degree,
Till bones and flesh and sinews fall away,

tion was thus by the arbitrators, to their knowledge and judgment, utterly quenched out and laid under boord; all other controversies betweene other lords, taking part with the one partie or the other, were appeased, and brought to concord, so that for joy the king caused a solemne fest to be kept on Whitsundaie; on which daie he created Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to the erle of Cambridge, duke of York, not foreseeing that this preferment should be his destruction."—H. N. H.

183. "*disanimates,*" discourages.—C. H. H.

So will this base and envious discord breed.
And now I fear that fatal prophecy
Which in the time of Henry named the fifth
Was in the mouth of every sucking babe;
That Henry born at Monmouth should win all
And Henry born at Windsor lose all:
Which is so plain, that Exeter doth wish
His days may finish ere that hapless time.
[*Exit.*

Scene II

France. Before Rouen.

Enter La Pucelle disguised, with four Soldiers with sacks upon their backs.

Puc. These are the city gates, the gates of Rouen,
Through which our policy must make a breach:
Take heed, be wary how you place your words;
Talk like the vulgar sort of market men
That come to gather money for their corn.
If we have entrance, as I hope we shall,
And that we find the slothful watch but weak,
I 'll by a sign give notice to our friends,
That Charles the Dauphin may encounter them.
First Sol. Our sacks shall be a mean to sack the city,
And we be lords and rulers over Rouen;
Therefore we 'll knock. [*Knocks.*

199. *"lose,"* should lose; F. 1, *"loose"*; Ff. 2, 3, 4, *"should lose."*—I.G.

Watch. [*Within*] Qui est là?
Puc. Paysans, pauvres gens de France;
Poor market folks that come to sell their corn.
Watch. Enter, go in; the market bell is rung.
Puc. Now, Rouen, I 'll shake thy bulwarks to the ground. [*Exeunt.*

Enter Charles, the Bastard of Orleans, Alençon, Reignier, and forces.

Char. Saint Denis bless this happy stratagem!
And once again we 'll sleep secure in Rouen.
Bast. Here enter'd Pucelle and her practisants;
Now she is there, how will she specify
Where is the best and safest passage in?
Reign. By thrusting out a torch from yonder tower;
Which, once discern'd, shows that her meaning is,
No way to that, for weakness, which she enter'd.

Enter La Pucelle on the top, thrusting out a torch burning.

Puc. Behold, this is the happy wedding torch
That joineth Rouen unto her countrymen,
But burning fatal to the Talbotites! [*Exit.*
Bast. See, noble Charles, the beacon of our friend;

14. *"Paysans, pauvres gens de France";* Rowe's emendation of Ff., *"Peasauns la pouure," etc.*—I. G.

25. "No way into the town is so ill-defended as that by which she had entered."—C. H. H.

The burning torch in yonder turret stands.
Char. Now shine it like a comet of revenge,
A prophet to the fall of all our foes!
Reign. Defer no time, delays have dangerous ends:
Enter, and cry, 'The Dauphin!' presently,
And then do execution on the watch.
[*Alarum. Exeunt.*

An alarum. Enter Talbot in an excursion.

Tal. France, thou shalt rue this treason with thy tears,
If Talbot but survive thy treachery.
Pucelle, that witch, that damned sorceress,
Hath wrought this hellish mischief unawares,
That hardly we escaped the pride of France.
[*Exit.*

40. *"the pride";* Theobald, *"the prize";* Hanmer, *"being prize";* Jackson, *"the bride";* Vaughan, *"the gripe."*—I. G.

"Pride" here signifies *haughty power.* So, afterwards, in Act iv. sc. 6: "And from the *pride* of Gallia rescu'd thee."—The general sentiment of the English respecting Joan of Arc is very well shown in that the regent, soon after the coronation at Rheims, wrote to Charles VII, complaining that "he had, by the allurement of a *develish witch,* taken upon him the name, title, and dignitie of the king of France," and challenging him to a trial of the question by private combat. Divers other choice vituperative epithets are stuck upon the heroic maiden by the old chroniclers, such as "false miscreant," "a damnable sorcerer suborned by Satan," and "hir pernicious practises of sorcerie and witcherie"; and Holinshed is down upon the prince for having to do with her: "Whose dignitie abroad was foulie spotted in this point, that contrarie to the holie degree of a right christen prince, he would not reverence to prophane his sacred estate by dealing in develish practises with misbeleevers and witches." There needs but a little knowledge of men as they now are, to understand how the English of that day should think their power so great that none but spirits could, and their rights so clear that none but devils would, thwart their purpose.—H. N. H.

An alarum: excursions. Bedford, brought in sick in a chair. Enter Talbot and Burgundy without: within La Pucelle, Charles, Bastard, Alençon, and Reignier, on the walls.

Puc. Good morrow, gallants! want ye corn for bread?
I think the Duke of Burgundy will fast
Before he 'll buy again at such a rate:
'Twas full of darnel; do you like the taste?

Bur. Scoff on, vile fiend and shameless courtezan!
I trust ere long to choke thee with thine own,
And make thee curse the harvest of that corn.

Char. Your grace may starve perhaps before that time.

Bed. O, let no words, but deeds, revenge this treason!

Puc. What will you do, good graybeard? break a lance,
And run a tilt at death within a chair?

Tal. Foul fiend of France, and hag of all despite,
Encompass'd with thy lustful paramours!
Becomes it thee to taunt his valiant age,
And twit with cowardice a man half dead?
Damsel, I 'll have a bout with you again,
Or else let Talbot perish with this shame.

Puc. Are ye so hot? yet, Pucelle, hold thy peace;

44. *"Darnel,"* says Gerarde in his Herbal, *"hurteth the eyes, and maketh them dim,* if it happen either in corne for breade, or drinke." La Pucelle means to intimate that the corn she carried with her had produced the same effect on the guards of Rouen; otherwise they would have seen through her disguise, and defeated her stratagem.—H. N. H.

52. *"all despite";* Collier MS., *"hell's despite."*—I. G.

If Talbot do but thunder, rain will follow.
[*The English whisper together in council.*
God speed the parliament! who shall be the speaker?
Tal. Dare ye come forth and meet us in the field?
Puc. Belike your lordship takes us then for fools,
To try if that our own be ours or no.
Tal. I speak not to that railing Hecate,
But unto thee, Alençon, and the rest;
Will ye, like soldiers, come and fight it out?
Alen. Signior, no.
Tal. Signior, hang! base muleters of France!
Like peasant foot-boys do they keep the walls,
And dare not take up arms like gentlemen.
Puc. Away, captains! let 's get us from the walls;
For Talbot means no goodness by his looks.
God be wi' you, my lord! we came but to tell you
That we are here. [*Exeunt from the walls.*
Tal. And there will be we too, ere it be long,
Or else reproach be Talbot's greatest fame!
Vow, Burgundy, by honor of thy house,
Prick'd on by public wrongs sustain'd in France,
Either to get the town again or die:
And I, as sure as English Henry lives,
And as his father here was conquerer,
As sure as in this late-betrayed town

67. *"Signior";* the courtly term is used with ironical politeness.—C. H. H.

73. *"God be wi' you";* Rowe's emendation of Ff., *"God b' uy."*—I. G.

Great Cœur-de-lion's heart was buried,
So sure I swear to get the town or die.

Bur. My vows are equal partners with thy vows.

Tal. But, ere we go, regard this dying prince,
The valiant Duke of Bedford. Come, my lord,
We will bestow you in some better place,
Fitter for sickness and for crazy age.

Bed. Lord Talbot, do not so dishonor me:
Here will I sit before the walls of Rouen
And will be partner of your weal or woe.

Bur. Courageous Bedford, let us now persuade you.

Bed. Not to be gone from hence; for once I read
That stout Pendragon in his litter sick
Came to the field and vanquished his foes:
Methinks I should revive the soldiers' hearts,
Because I ever found them as myself.

Tal. Undaunted spirit in a dying breast!
Then be it so: heavens keep old Bedford safe!
And now no more ado, brave Burgundy,
But gather we our forces out of hand
And set upon our boasting enemy.

[*Exeunt all but Bedford and Attendants.*

An alarum: excursions. Enter Sir John Fastolfe and a Captain.

Cap. Whither away, Sir John Falstolfe, in such haste?

95. *"Pendragon,"* Uther Pendragon, the father of King Arthur.—C. H. H.

Fast. Whither away! to save myself by flight:
We are like to have the overthrow again.
Cap. What! will you fly, and leave Lord Talbot?
Fast. Aye,
All the Talbots in the world, to save my life.
[*Exit.*
Cap. Cowardly knight! ill fortune follow thee!
[*Exit.*

Retreat: excursions. La Pucelle, Alençon, and Charles fly.

Bed. Now, quiet soul, depart when heaven please, 110
For I have seen our enemies' overthrow.
What is the trust or strength of foolish man?
They that of late were daring with their scoffs
Are glad and fain by flight to save themselves.
[*Bedford dies, and is carried in by two in his chair.*

An alarum. Re-enter Talbot, Burgundy, and the rest.

Tal. Lost, and recover'd in a day again!
This is a double honor, Burgundy:
Yet heavens have glory for this victory!

114. This scene of feigning, fighting, jesting, dying, and running away, is a fiction of the Poet's; though there are several passages in the war in France, that might have furnished a hint and basis for it. The regent died quietly in his bed at Rouen, September 14, 1435, and was buried in the Cathedral. It is said that some years after Louis XI, being urged to remove his bones and deface his monument, replied,—"I will not war with the remains of a prince who was once a match for your fathers and mine; and who, were he now alive, would make the proudest of us tremble. Let his ashes rest in peace, and may the Almighty have mercy on his soul!"—H. N. H.

Bur. Warlike and martial Talbot, Burgundy
Enshrines thee in his heart and there erects
Thy noble deeds as valor's monuments.
Tal. Thanks, gentle duke. But where is Pucelle now?
I think her old familiar is asleep:
Now where 's the Bastard's braves, and Charles his gleeks?
What, all amort? Rouen hangs her head for grief
That such a valiant company are fled.
Now will we take some order in the town,
Placing therein some expert officers,
And then depart to Paris to the king,
For there young Henry with his nobles lie.
Bur. What wills Lord Talbot pleaseth Burgundy.
Tal. But yet, before we go, let 's not forget
The noble Duke of Bedford late deceased,
But see his exequies fulfill'd in Rouen:
A braver soldier never couched lance,
A gentler heart did never sway in court;
But kings and mightiest potentates must die,
For that's the end of human misery. [*Exeunt.*

118. *"and martial"*; Collier MS., *"and matchless"*; Vaughan, *"unmatchable."*—I. G.

126. *"take some order,"* adopt some measures.—C. H. H.

Scene III

The plains near Rouen.

Enter Charles, the Bastard of Orleans, Alençon, La Pucelle, and forces.

Puc. Dismay not, princes, at this accident,
Nor grieve that Rouen is so recovered:
Care is no cure, but rather corrosive,
For things that are not to be remedied.
Let frantic Talbot triumph for a while
And like a peacock sweep along his tail;
We 'll pull his plumes and take away his train,
If Dauphin and the rest will be but ruled.
Char. We have been guided by thee hitherto,
And of thy cunning had no diffidence:
One sudden foil shall never breed distrust.
Bast. Search out thy wit for secret policies,
And we will make thee famous through the world.
Alen. We 'll set thy statue in some holy place,
And have thee reverenced like a blessed saint:
Employ thee then, sweet virgin, for our good.
Puc. Then thus it must be; this doth Joan devise:
By fair persuasions mix'd with sugar'd words
We will entice the Duke of Burgundy
To leave the Talbot and to follow us.
Char. Aye, marry, sweeting, if we could do that,
France were no place for Henry's warriors;
Nor should that nation boast it so with us,
But be extirped from our provinces.

Alen. For ever should they be expulsed from France,
And not have title of an earldom here.
Puc. Your honors shall perceive how I will work
To bring this matter to the wished end.
[*Drum sounds afar off.*
Hark! by the sound of drum you may perceive
Their powers are marching unto Paris-ward.

Here sound an English march. Enter, and pass over at a distance, Talbot and his forces.

There goes the Talbot, with his colors spread,
And all the troops of English after him.

French march. Enter the Duke of Burgundy and forces.

Now in the rearward comes the duke and his:
Fortune in favor makes him lag behind.
Summon a parley; we will talk with him.
Trumpets sound a parley.
Char. A parley with the Duke of Burgundy!
Bur. Who craves a parley with the Burgundy?
Puc. The princely Charles of France, thy countryman.
Bur. What say'st thou, Charles? for I am marching hence.
Char. Speak, Pucelle, and enchant him with thy words.
Puc. Brave Burgundy, undoubted hope of France!
Stay, let thy humble handmaid speak to thee.
Bur. Speak on; but be not over-tedious.
Puc. Look on thy country, look on fertile France,

And see the cities and the towns defaced
By wasting ruin of the cruel foe.
As looks the mother on her lowly babe
When death doth close his tender dying eyes,
See, see the pining malady of France;
Behold the wounds, the most unnatural wounds,
Which thou thyself hast given her woful breast.
O, turn thy edged sword another way;
Strike those that hurt, and hurt not those that help.
One drop of blood drawn from thy country's bosom
Should grieve thee more than streams of foreign gore:
Return thee therefore with a flood of tears,
And wash away thy country's stained spots.

Bur. Either she hath bewitch'd me with her words,
Or nature makes me suddenly relent.

Puc. Besides, all French and France exclaims on thee,
Doubting thy birth and lawful progeny.
Who join'st thou with but with a lordly nation
That will not trust thee but for profit's sake?
When Talbot hath set footing once in France
And fashion'd thee that instrument of ill,
Who then but English Henry will be lord,
And thou be thrust out like a fugitive?
Call we to mind, and mark but this for proof,
Was not the Duke of Orleans thy foe?

69–73. Throughout this play the Poet takes great liberties with the order of events, shuffling them back and forth without much regard to their actual succession. The duke of Orleans, who had been

And was he not in England prisoner?
But when they heard he was thine enemy,
They set him free without his ransom paid,
In spite of Burgundy and all his friends.
See, then, thou fight'st against thy countrymen
And join'st with them will be thy slaughter-men.
Come, come, return; return, thou wandering lord;
Charles and the rest will take thee in their arms.

Bur. I am vanquished; these haughty words of hers
Have batter'd me like roaring cannon-shot,
And made me almost yield upon my knees.
Forgive, me, country, and sweet countrymen,
And, lords, accept this hearty kind embrace:
My forces and my power of men are yours:
So farewell, Talbot; I 'll no longer trust thee.

taken prisoner at the battle of Agincourt in 1415, and retained as such in England ever since, was not released till November, 1440, which was more than five years after the defection of Burgundy from the English cause. The long captivity of Orleans was partly owing to the duke of Burgundy, there being an old grudge between the two families; Burgundy still persuading the English to demand a larger ransom than Orleans was able to pay. Now the former sought the enlargement of his rival, and, to secure his friendship, paid the ransom, and effected a marriage of him with his niece, Mary of Cleves. England, however, would not release Orleans till he bound himself to return at the end of a year, unless he could induce the French king to a final peace; and engaged at the same time to pay back the money on the signing of the treaty or the return of the captive. The duke being for some time excluded from the French court through the intrigues of favorites, the time for his return was prolonged; till at last, in 1444, he brought about an armistice for two years, and there the matter seems to have ended.—H. N. H.

Puc. [*Aside*] Done like a Frenchman: turn, and turn again!

Char. Welcome, brave duke; thy friendship makes us fresh.

Bast. And doth beget new courage in our breasts.

Alen. Pucelle hath bravely play'd her part in this,
And doth deserve a coronet of gold.

Char. Now let us on, my lords, and join our powers,
And seek how we may prejudice the foe.

[*Exeunt.*

Scene IV

Paris. The palace.

Enter the King, Gloucester, Bishop of Winchester, York, Suffolk, Somerset, Warwick, Exeter: Vernon, Basset, and others. To them with his Soldiers, Talbot.

Tal. My gracious prince, and honorable peers,
Hearing of your arrival in this realm,
I have awhile given truce unto my wars,
To do my duty to my sovereign:
In sign whereof, this arm, that hath reclaim'd
To your obedience fifty fortresses,

85. *"Done like a Frenchman: turn, and turn again";* "the inconstancy of the French was always a subject of satire. I have read a dissertation to prove that the index of the wind upon our steeples was made in form of a cock to ridicule the French for their frequent changes" (Johnson).—H. N. H.

Twelve cities and seven walled towns of strength,
Beside five hundred prisoners of esteem,
Lets fall his sword before your highness' feet,
And with submissive loyalty of heart
Ascribes the glory of his conquest got
First to my God and next unto your grace.
[*Kneels*

King. Is this the Lord Talbot, uncle Gloucester,
That hath so long been resident in France?

Glou. Yes, if it please your majesty, my liege.

King. Welcome, brave captain and victorious lord!
When I was young, as yet I am not old.
I do remember how my father said
A stouter champion never handled sword.
Long since we were resolved of your truth,
Your faithful service and your toil in war;
Yet never have you tasted our reward,
Or been reguerdon'd with so much as thanks.
Because till now we never saw your face:
Therefore, stand up: and, for these good deserts,
We here create you Earl of Shrewsbury;
And in our coronation take your place.

18. *"I do remember";* "Henry was but nine months old when his father died, and never even saw him" (Malone).—H. N. H.

26. Talbot was not made earl of Shrewsbury till 1442, more than ten years after the crowning of Henry at Paris. And the honor was not conferred at Paris, but at London. The matter is thus stated by Holinshed: "About this season John, the valiant lord Talbot, for his approved prowesse and wisdome, as well in England as in France, both in peace and warre so well tried, was created earle of Shrewsburie, and with a companie of three thousand men sent againe into Normandie, for the better defense of the same."—H. N. H.

[*Sennet. Flourish. Exeunt all but Vernon and Basset.*

Ver. Now, sir, to you, that were so hot at sea,
Disgracing of these colors that I wear
In honor of my noble Lord of York:—
Darest thou maintain the former words thou spakest?

Bas. Yes, sir; as well as you dare patronage
The envious barking of your saucy tongue
Against my lord the Duke of Somerset.

Ver. Sirrah, thy lord I honor as he is.

Bas. Why, what is he? as good a man as York.

Ver. Hark ye; not so: in witness, take ye that.
[*Strikes him.*

Bas. Villain, thou know'st the law of arms is such
That whoso draws a sword, 'tis present death,
Or else this blow should broach thy dearest blood.
But I 'll unto his majesty, and crave
I may have liberty to venge this wrong;
When thou shalt see I 'll meet thee to thy cost.

Ver. Well, miscreant, I 'll be there as soon as you;
And, after, meet you sooner than you would.
[*Exeunt.*

38. *"the law of arms is such";* "By the ancient law before the Conquest, fighting in the king's palace, or before the king's judges, was punished with death. And by Statute 33, Henry VIII, malicious striking in the king's palace, whereby blood is drawn, is punishable by perpetual imprisonment and fine at the king's pleasure and also with loss of the offender's right hand."—Blackstone.

ACT FOURTH

Scene I

Paris. A hall of state.

Enter the King, Gloucester, Bishop of Winchester, York, Suffolk, Somerset, Warwick, Talbot, Exeter, the Governor of Paris, and others.

Glou. Lord bishop, set the crown upon his head.
Win. God save King Henry, of that name the sixth!
Glou. Now, governor of Paris, take your oath,
That you elect no other king but him;
Esteem none friends but such as are his friends,
And none your foes but such as shall pretend
Malicious practices against his state:
This shall ye do, so help you righteous God!

Enter Sir John Fastolfe.

Fast. My gracious sovereign, as I rode from Calais,
To haste unto your coronation,

6. *"Pretend"* was often used in the sense of *purpose,* or *design.* —H. N. H.

10. The crowning of King Henry at Paris took place December 17, 1431. Concerning that event Holinshed has the following: "To speake with what honour he was received into the citie of Paris, what pageants were prepared, and how richlie the gates, streets,

A letter was deliver'd to my hands,
Writ to your grace from the Duke of Burgundy.

Tal. Shame to the Duke of Burgundy and thee!
I vow'd, base knight, when I did meet thee next,
To tear the garter from thy craven's leg,
[*Plucking it off.*
Which I have done, because unworthily
Thou wast installed in that high degree.
Pardon me, princely Henry, and the rest:
This dastard, at the battle of Patay, 19
When but in all I was six thousand strong
And that the French were almost ten to one,

bridges on everie side were hanged with costlie clothes of arras and tapestrie, it would be too long a processe, and therefore I doo heere passe it over with silence." Nevertheless the occasion was but poorly attended save by foreigners, none of the higher French nobility gracing it with their presence. The ceremony of coronation was of old thought to have a kind of sacramental virtue, confirming the title of a new king, and rendering his person sacred. Thus the crowning of Charles at Rheims, which took place in July, 1429, operated as a charm to engage the loyalty of the people; and it was with this view that Joan of Arc urged it on so vehemently, declaring it the main purpose of her celestial mission; and during the ceremony she stood at the king's side with her banner unfurled, and as soon as it was over fell on her knees, embraced his feet, said her mission was at an end, and begged with tears that she might return to her former station. Charles indeed had been crowned once before, but it was not done at Rheims, the ancient place of that ceremony, and therefore it proved ineffectual. This good old local religion put the regent upon great efforts to have Henry crowned there; but herein he was still baffled, and, after trying about two years, he concluded to have it done at Paris, rather than not at all. The ceremony was performed by the bishop of Winchester, then cardinal.—H. N. H.

19. *"at the battle of Patay";* Capell's emendation (adopted by Malone) of *"Poictiers"* of the Ff. The battle of Poictiers was fought 1357; the date of the present scene is 1428.—I. G.

Before we met or that a stroke was given,
Like to a trusty squire did run away:
In which assault we lost twelve hundred men;
Myself and divers gentlemen beside
Were there surprised and taken prisoners.
Then judge, great lords, if I have done amiss;
Or whether that such cowards ought to wear
This ornament of knighthood, yea or no.

Glou. To say the truth, this fact was infamous
And ill beseeming any common man,
Much more a knight, a captain and a leader.

Tal. When first this order was ordain'd, my lords,
Knights of the garter were of noble birth,
Valiant and virtuous, full of haughty courage,
Such as were grown to credit by the wars;
Not fearing death, nor shrinking for distress,
But always resolute in most extremes.
He then that is not furnish'd in this sort
Doth but usurp the sacred name of knight,
Profaning this most honorable order,
And should, if I were worthy to be judge,
Be quite degraded, like a hedge-born swain
That doth presume to boast of gentle blood.

King. Stain to thy countrymen, thou hear'st thy doom!
Be packing, therefore, thou that wast a knight:
Henceforth we banish thee, on pain of death.
[*Exit Fastolfe.*
And now, my lord protector, view the letter
Sent from our uncle Duke of Burgundy.

38. *"most,"* utmost.—C. H. H.

Glou. What means his grace, that he hath changed his style?
No more but, plain and bluntly, 'To the king!'
Hath he forgot he is his sovereign?
Or doth this churlish superscription
Pretend some alteration in good will?
What 's here? [*Reads*] 'I have, upon especial cause,
Moved with compassion of my country's wreck,
Together with the pitiful complaints
Of such as your oppression feeds upon,
Forsaken your pernicious faction,
And join'd with Charles, the rightful King of France.'
O monstrous treachery! can this be so,
That in alliance, amity and oaths,
There should be found such false dissembling guile?
King. What! doth my uncle Burgundy revolt?
Glou. He doth, my lord, and is become your foe.
King. Is that the worst this letter doth contain?
Glou. It is the worst, and all, my lord, he writes.
King. Why, then, Lord Talbot there shall talk with him,
And give him chastisement for this abuse.
How say you, my lord? are you not content?
Tal. Content, my liege! yes, but that I am prevented,

54. *"pretend"* here bears the literal sense of *hold out;* not the same as that explained in the note to line 6 of this scene.—H. N. H.
71. *"prevented,"* anticipated.—C. H. H.

I should have begg'd I might have been employ'd.

King. Then gather strength, and march unto him straight:
Let him perceive how ill we brook his treason,
And what offence it is to flout his friends.

Tal. I go, my lord, in heart desiring still
You may behold confusion of your foes.
[*Exit.*

Enter Vernon and Basset.

Ver. Grant me the combat, gracious sovereign.

Bas. And me, my lord, grant me the combat too.

York. This is my servant: hear him, noble prince.

Som. And this is mine: sweet Henry, favor him.

King. Be patient, lords; and give them leave to speak.
Say, gentlemen, what makes you thus exclaim?
And wherefore crave you combat? or with whom?

Ver. With him, my lord; for he hath done me wrong.

Bas. And I with him; for he hath done me wrong.

King. What is that wrong whereof you both complain?
First let me know, and then I 'll answer you.

Bas. Crossing the sea from England into France,
This fellow here, with envious carping tongue,

78. *"combat,"* i. e. the right of single combat, for which, in the precincts of the court, the king's permission had to be obtained.—C. H. H.

Upbraided me about the rose I wear;
Saying, the sanguine color of the leaves
Did represent my master's blushing cheeks,
When stubbornly he did repugn the truth
About a certain question in the law
Argued betwixt the Duke of York and him;
With other vile and ignominious terms:
In confutation of which rude reproach,
And in defense of my lord's worthiness,
I crave the benefit of law of arms.

Ver. And that is my petition, noble lord:
For though he seem with forged quaint conceit
To set a gloss upon his bold intent,
Yet know, my lord, I was provoked by him;
And he first took exceptions at this badge,
Pronouncing that the paleness of this flower
Bewray'd the faintness of my master's heart.

York. Will not this malice, Somerset, be left?

Som. Your private grudge, my Lord of York, will out,
Though ne'er so cunningly you smother it.

King. Good Lord, what madness rules in brainsick men,
When for so slight and frivolous a cause
Such factious emulations shall arise!
Good cousins both, of York and Somerset,
Quiet yourselves, I pray, and be at peace.

York. Let this dissension first be tried by fight,
And then your highness shall command a peace.

Som. The quarrel toucheth none but us alone;

102. *"forged quaint conceit,"* ingenious fabrication.—C. H. H.

Betwixt ourselves let us decide it then.
York. There is my pledge; accept it, Somerset.
Ver. Nay, let it rest where it began at first.
Bas. Confirm it so, mine honorable lord.
Glou. Confirm it so! Confounded be your strife!
And perish ye, with your audacious prate!
Presumptuous vassals, are you not ashamed
With this immodest clamorous outrage
To trouble and disturb the king and us?
And you, my lords, methinks you do not well
To bear with their perverse objections;
Much less to take occasion from their mouths
To raise a mutiny betwixt yourselves:
Let me persuade you take a better course.
Exe. It grieves his highness: good my lords, be friends.
King. Come hither, you that would be combatants:
Henceforth I charge you, as you love our favor,
Quite to forget this quarrel and the cause.
And you, my lords, remember where we are;
In France, amongst a fickle wavering nation:
If they perceive dissension in our looks
And that within ourselves we disagree,
How will their grudging stomachs be provoked
To willful disobedience, and rebel!
Beside, what infamy will there arise,
When foreign princes shall be certified
That for a toy, a thing of no regard,
King Henry's peers and chief nobility
Destroy'd themselves, and lost the realm of France

141. *"stomachs,"* spirits.—C. H. H.

O, think upon the conquest of my father,
My tender years, and let us not forgo
That for a trifle that was bought with blood!
Let me be umpire in this doubtful strife.
I see no reason, if I wear this rose,
[*Putting on a red rose.*
That any one should therefore be suspicious
I more incline to Somerset than York:
Both are my kinsmen, and I love them both:
As well they may upbraid me with my crown,
Because, forsooth, the king of Scots is crown'd.
But your discretions better can persuade
Than I am able to instruct or teach;
And therefore, as we hither came in peace,
So let us still continue peace and love.
Cousin of York, we institute your grace
To be our regent in these parts of France:
And, good my Lord of Somerset, unite
Your troops of horsemen with his bands of foot;
And, like true subjects, sons of your progenitors,
Go cheerfully together and digest
Your angry choler on your enemies.
Ourself, my lord protector and the rest
After some respite will return to Calais;
From thence to England; where I hope ere long
To be presented, by your victories,
With Charles, Alençon and that traitorous rout.
[*Flourish. Exeunt all but York, Warwick, Exeter and Vernon.*

War. My Lord of York, I promise you, the king
Prettily, methought, did play the orator.
York. And so he did; but yet I like it not,
In that he wears the badge of Somerset.
War. Tush, that was but his fancy, blame him not;
I dare presume, sweet prince, he thought no harm.
York. An if I wist he did,—but let it rest;
Other affairs must now be managed.

[*Exeunt all but Exeter.*

Exe. Well didst thou, Richard, to suppress thy voice;
For, had the passions of thy heart burst out,
I fear we should have seen decipher'd there
More rancorous spite, more furious raging broils,
Than yet can be imagined or supposed.
But howsoe'er, no simple man that sees
This jarring discord of nobility,
This shouldering of each other in the court,
This factious bandying of their favorites,
But that it doth presage some ill event.
'Tis much when scepters are in children's hands;
But more when envy breeds unkind division;
There comes the ruin, there begins confusion.

[*Exit.*

180. *"An if I wist he did,"* Capell; Ff., *"And if I wish he did"*; Rowe, *"And if I wish he did.—"*; Theobald (in text), *"An if I wis he did.—"*; (in note), *"And if I wis, he did.—"*; Johnson, *"And if—I wish—he did—"* or *"And if he did,—I wish—"*; Steevens, *"And, if I wist, he did,—."*—I. G.

193. *"Envy,"* in old English writers, frequently means *malice, enmity. "Unkind"* is *unnatural.*—H. N. H.

Scene II

Before Bordeaux.

Enter Talbot, with trump and drum.

Tal. Go to the gates of Bordeaux, trumpeter:
Summon their general unto the wall.

Trumpet sounds. Enter General and others, aloft.

English John Talbot, captains, calls you forth,
Servant in arms to Harry King of England;
And thus he would: Open your city-gates;
Be humble to us; call my sovereign yours,
And do him homage as obedient subjects;
And I 'll withdraw me and my bloody power:
But, if you frown upon this proffer'd peace,
You tempt the fury of my three attendants,
Lean famine, quartering steel, and climbing fire;
Who in a moment even with the earth
Shall lay your stately and air-braving towers,
If you forsake the offer of their love.

Gen. Thou ominous and fearful owl of death,
Our nation's terror and their bloody scourge!
The period of thy tyranny approacheth.
On us thou canst not enter but by death;
For, I protest, we are well fortified
And strong enough to issue out and fight:
If thou retire, the Dauphin, well appointed,

14. *"their love";* Hanmer, *"our love."*—I. G.

Stands with the snares of war to tangle thee:
On either hand thee there are squadrons pitch'd,
To wall thee from the liberty of flight;
And no way canst thou turn thee for redress,
But death doth front thee with apparent spoil,
And pale destruction meets thee in the face.
Ten thousand French have ta'en the sacrament
To rive their dangerous artillery
Upon no Christian soul but English Talbot.
Lo, there thou stand'st, a breathing valiant man,
Of an invincible unconquer'd spirit!
This is the latest glory of thy praise
That I, thy enemy, due thee withal;
For ere the glass, that now begins to run,
Finish the process of his sandy hour,
These eyes, that see thee now well colored,
Shall see thee wither'd, bloody, pale and dead.
[*Drum afar off.*
Hark! hark! the Dauphin's drum, a warning bell,
Sings heavy music to thy timorous soul;
And mine shall ring thy dire departure out.
[*Exeunt General, etc.*

Tal. He fables not; I hear the enemy:

22. *"war";* Capell, *"death."*—I. G.

26. *"spoil";* Vaughan, *"steel."*—I. G.

"apparent spoil," inevitable ruin.—C. H. H.

29. "To *rive* their dangerous artillery" is merely a figurative way of expressing to *discharge it.* To *rive* is to *burst;* and *burst* is applied by Shakespeare more than once to *thunder,* or to a similar sound.—H. N. H.

34. *"Due"* for *endue,* which was often used in the sense of *invest.* —H. N. H.

Out, some light horsemen, and peruse their wings.
O, negligent and heedless discipline!
How are we park'd and bounded in a pale,
A little herd of England's timorous deer,
Mazed with a yelping kennel of French curs!
If we be English deer, be then in blood;
Not rascal-like, to fall down with a pinch,
But rather, moody-mad and desperate stags,
Turn on the bloody hounds with heads of steel
And make the cowards stand aloof at bay:
Sell every man his life as dear as mine,
And they shall find dear deer of us, my friends.
God and Saint George, Talbot and England's right,
Prosper our colors in this dangerous fight!

[*Exeunt.*

Scene III

Plains in Gascony.

Enter a Messenger that meets York. Enter York with trumpet and many Soldiers.

York. Are not the speedy scouts return'd again,
That dogg'd the mighty army of the Dauphin?

48. *"in blood,"* in full vigor (a term of the chase).—C. H. H.

49–51. This use of *rascal* is well explained by a passage from Verstegan's *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence,* 1605: "As before I have showed how the ill names of beasts, in their most contemptible state, are in contempt applied to women; so is *rascall,* being the name for an ill-favoured, leane, and worthlesse *deere,* commonly

Mess. They are return'd, my lord, and give it out
That he is march'd to Bordeaux with his power,
To fight with Talbot: as he march'd along,
By your espials were discovered
Two mightier troops than that the Dauphin led,
Which join'd with him and made their march
for Bordeaux.

York. A plague upon that villain Somerset,
That thus delays my promised supply
Of horsemen, that were levied for this siege!
Renowned Talbot doth expect my aid,
And I am lowted by a traitor villain,
And cannot help the noble chevalier:
God comfort him in this necessity!
If he miscarry, farewell wars in France.

Enter Sir William Lucy.

Lucy. Thou princely leader of our English
strength,
Never so needful on the earth of France,
Spur to the rescue of the noble Talbot,
Who now is girdled with a waist of iron,
And hemm'd about with grim destruction:
To Bordeaux, warlike duke! to Bordeaux,
York!
Else, farewell, Talbot, France, and England's
honor.

York. O God, that Somerset, who in proud heart
Doth stop my cornets, were in Talbot's place!
So should we save a valiant gentleman

applied unto such men as are held of no credit or worth." The figure is kept up by using *heads of steel* for *lances,* referring to the deer's horns.—H. N. H.

By forfeiting a traitor and a coward.
Mad ire and wrathful fury makes me weep,
That thus we die, while remiss traitors sleep.

Lucy. O, send such succor to the distress'd lord!

York. He dies, we lose; I break my warlike word;
We mourn, France smiles; we lose, they daily get;
All 'long of this vile traitor Somerset.

Lucy. Then God take mercy on brave Talbot's soul;
And on his son young John, who two hours since
I met in travel toward his warlike father!
This seven years did not Talbot see his son;
And now they meet where both their lives are done.

York. Alas, what joy shall noble Talbot have,
To bid his young son welcome to his grave?
Away! vexation almost stops my breath,
That sunder'd friends greet in the hour of death.
Lucy, farewell: no more my fortune can,
But curse the cause I cannot aid the man.
Maine, Blois, Poictiers, and Tours, are won away,
'Long all of Somerset and his delay.

[*Exit, with his soldiers.*

33. *"Long all of,"* that is, *all because of,* by means or by reason of. The phrase was used by the gravest writers in the Poet's time. Hooker has it.—H. N. H.

46. On the death of Bedford in 1435, York succeeded him in the regency of France. In 1437 he was superseded by Warwick, who dying about two years after, York was reappointed. In this office Somerset took special pains to cross and thwart him. The effects

Lucy. Thus, while the vulture of sedition
Feeds in the bosom of such great commanders,
Sleeping neglection doth betray to loss
The conquest of our scarce cold conqueror,
That ever living man of memory,
Henry the Fifth: whiles they each other cross,
Lives, honors, lands and all hurry to loss.
[*Exit.*

Scene IV

Other plains in Gascony.

Enter Somerset, with his army; a Captain of Talbot's with him.

Som. It is too late; I cannot send them now:
This expedition was by York and Talbot
Too rashly plotted: all our general force
Might with a sally of the very town
Be buckled with: the over-daring Talbot

of their enmity are strongly stated by Holinshed: "Althought the duke of York was worthie, both for birth and courage, of this honor and preferment, yet so disdeined of the duke of Summerset, that by all means possible sought his hindrance, as one glad of his losse, and sorie of his well dooing: by reason whereof, yer the duke of York could get his despatch, Paris and diverse other of the cheefest places in France were gotten by the French king. The duke of York, perceiving his evill will, openlie dissembled that which he inwardlie minded, either of them working things to the others displeasure, till, through malice and division betweene them, at length by mortall warre, they were both consumed, with almost all their whole lines and offspring."—H. N. H.

47. Alluding to the tale of Prometheus.—H. N. H.

51. *"That ever living man of memory," i. e.* that ever man of living memory. Lettsom, *"man of ever-living."*—I. G.

Hath sullied all his gloss of former honor
By this unheedful, desperate, wild adventure:
York set him on to fight and die in shame,
That, Talbot dead, great York might bear the name.

Cap. Here is Sir William Lucy, who with me
Set from our o'er-match'd forces forth for aid.

Enter Sir William Lucy.

Som. How now, Sir William! whither were you sent?

Lucy. Whither, my lord? from bought and sold Lord Talbot;
Who, ring'd about with bold adversity,
Cries out for noble York and Somerset,
To beat assailing death from his weak legions:
And whiles the honorable captain there
Drops bloody sweat from his war-wearied limbs,
And, in advantage lingering, looks for rescue,
You, his false hopes, the trust of England's honor,
Keep off aloof with worthless emulation.
Let not your private discord keep away
The levied succors that should lend him aid,
While he, renowned noble gentleman,
Yields up his life unto a world of odds:
Orleans the Bastard, Charles, Burgundy,

16. *"legions,"* Rowe's emendation of Ff. *"Regions."*—I. G.

19. *"in advantage lingering"*; Staunton, *"in disadvantage ling'ring"*; Lettsom, *"in disvantage lingering"*; Vaughan, *"disadvantage ling'r-ing."* Johnson explains the phrase, "Protracting his resistance by the advantage of a strong post"; Malone, "Endeavoring by every means, with advantage to himself, to linger out the action."—I. G.

Alençon, Reignier, compass him about,
And Talbot perisheth by your default.

Som. York set him on; York should have sent him aid.

Lucy. And York as fast upon your grace exclaims;
Swearing that you withhold his levied host,
Collected for this expedition.

Som. York lies; he might have sent and had the horse:
I owe him little duty, and less love;
And take foul scorn to fawn on him by sending.

Lucy. The fraud of England, not the force of France,
Hath now entrapp'd the noble-minded Talbot:
Never to England shall he bear his life;
But dies, betray'd to fortune by your strife.

Som. Come, go; I will dispatch the horsemen straight:
Within six hours they will be at his aid.

Lucy. Too late comes rescue; he is ta'en or slain;
For fly he could not, if he would have fled;
And fly would Talbot never, though he might.

Som. If he be dead, brave Talbot, then adieu!

Lucy. His fame lives in the world, his shame in you. [*Exeunt.*

31. *"host";* so Ff. 3, 4; Ff. 1, 2, *"hoast";* Theobald's conjecture (adopted by Hanmer), *"horse."*—I. G.

35. *"take foul scorn,"* I scorn (to fawn on him) as a foul disgrace.—C. H. H.

42. *"rescue: he is";* Ff. 1, 2, *"rescue, he is";* Ff. 3, 4, *"rescue, if he is";* Rowe (ed. 1) *"rescue, if he's";* (ed 2) *"rescue, he's";* Pope, *"rescue now, he's."*—I. G.

Scene V

The English camp near Bordeaux.

Enter Talbot and John his son.

Tal. O young John Talbot! I did send for thee
To tutor thee in stratagems of war,
That Talbot's name might be in thee revived,
When sapless age and weak unable limbs
Should bring thy father to his drooping chair.
But, O malignant and ill-boding stars!
Now thou are come unto a feast of death,
A terrible and unavoided danger:
Therefore, dear boy, mount on my swiftest horse;
And I 'll direct thee how thou shalt escape
By sudden flight: come, dally not, be gone.
John. Is my name Talbot? and am I your son?
And shall I fly? O, if you love my mother,
Dishonor not her honorable name,
To make a bastard and a slave of me!
The world will say, he is not Talbot's blood,
That basely fled when noble Talbot stood.
Tal. Fly, to revenge my death, if I be slain.
John. He that flies so will ne'er return again.

16 et seq. "For what reason this scene is written in rhyme," says Dr. Johnson, "I cannot guess. If Shakespeare had not in other plays mingled his rhymes and blank verses in the same manner, I should have suspected that this dialogue had been part of some other poem, which was never finished, and that being loath to throw his labour away, he inserted it here." Mr. Boswell remarks that it was a practice common to all Shakespeare's contemporaries.—H. N. H.

Tal. If we both stay, we both are sure to die.
John. Then let me stay; and, father, do you fly;
Your loss is great, so your regard should be;
My worth unknown, no loss is known in me.
Upon my death the French can little boast;
In yours they will, in you all hopes are lost.
Flight cannot stain the honor you have won;
But mine it will, that no exploit have done:
You fled for vantage, every one will swear;
But, if I bow, they 'll say it was for fear.
There is no hope that ever I will stay,
If the first hour I shrink and run away.
Here on my knee I beg mortality,
Rather than life preserved with infamy.
Tal. Shall all thy mother's hopes lie in one tomb?
John. Aye, rather than I 'll shame my mother's womb.
Tal. Upon my blessing, I command thee go.
John. To fight I will, but not to fly the foe.
Tal. Part of thy father may be saved in thee.
John. No part of him but will be shame in me.
Tal. Thou never hadst renown, nor canst not lose it.
John. Yes, your renowned name: shall flight abuse it?
Tal. Thy father's charge shall clear thee from that stain.
John. You cannot witness for me, being slain.
If death be so apparent, then both fly.
Tal. And leave my followers here to fight and die;

39. *"shame"*; Walker, *"sham'd."*—I. G.

My age was never tainted with such shame.
John. And shall my youth be guilty of such blame?
No more can I be sever'd from your side,
Than can yourself yourself in twain divide:
Stay, go, do what you will, the like do I;
For live I will not, if my father die.
Tal. Then here I take my leave of thee, fair son,
Born to eclipse thy life this afternoon.
Come, side by side together live or die;
And soul with soul from France to heaven fly.
[*Exeunt.*

Scene VI

A field of battle.

Alarum: excursions, wherein Talbot's Son is hemmed about, and Talbot rescues him.

Tal. Saint George and victory; fight, soldiers, fight:
The regent hath with Talbot broke his word,
And left us to the rage of France his sword.
Where is John Talbot? Pause, and take thy breath;
I gave thee life and rescued thee from death.
John. O, twice my father, twice am I thy son!
The life thou gavest me first was lost and done,
Till with thy warlike sword, despite of fate,
To my determined time thou gavest new date.

3. *"France his sword,"* the sword of the king of France.—C. H. H.
9. To *determine* is, literally, to set bounds or limits to a thing.

Tal. When from the Dauphin's crest thy sword struck fire,
It warmed thy father's heart with proud desire
Of bold-faced victory. Then leaden age,
Quicken'd with youthful spleen and warlike rage,
Beat down Alençon, Orleans, Burgundy,
And from the pride of Gallia rescued thee.
The ireful bastard Orleans, that drew blood
From thee, my boy, and had the maidenhood
Of thy first fight, I soon encountered,
And interchanging blows I quickly shed
Some of his bastard blood; and in disgrace
Bespoke him thus; 'Contaminated base
And misbegotten blood I spill of thine,
Mean and right poor, for that pure blood of mine,
Which thou didst force from Talbot, my brave boy:'
Here, purposing the Bastard to destroy,
Came in strong rescue. Speak, thy father's care,
Art thou not weary, John? how dost thou fare?
Wilt thou yet leave the battle, boy, and fly,
Now thou art seal'd the son of chivalry?
Fly, to revenge my death when I am dead:
The help of one stands me in little stead.

Young Talbot therefore means that this rescue by his father has prolonged the period of life which had been *fixed* by the superiority of his foes. It were needless to say this, but for the learned impertinence that has been spent upon the expression of the text.—H. N. H.

O, too much folly is it, well I wot,
To hazard all our lives in one small boat!
If I to-day die not with Frenchmen's rage,
To-morrow I shall die with mickle age:
By me they nothing gain an if I stay;
'Tis but the shortening of my life one day:
In thee thy mother dies, our household's name,
My death's revenge, thy youth, and England's fame:
All these and more we hazard by thy stay;
All these are saved if thou wilt fly away.

John. The sword of Orleans hath not made me smart;
These words of yours draw life-blood from my heart:
On that advantage, bought with such a shame,
To save a paltry life and slay bright fame,
Before young Talbot from old Talbot fly,
The coward horse that bears me fall and die!
And like me to the peasant boys of France,
To be shame's scorn and subject of mischance!
Surely, by all the glory you have won,
And if I fly, I am not Talbot's son:
Then talk no more of flight, it is no boot;
If son to Talbot, die at Talbot's foot.

Tal. Then follow thou thy desperate sire of Crete,
Thou Icarus; thy life to me is sweet:

44. *"On that advantage,"* so the Ff.; Theobald conjectured *"On that bad vantage,"* but subsequently read, *"Out on that vantage";* Hanmer, *"Oh! what advantage";* Vaughan, *"Oh hated vantage!"* &c. —I. G.

55. *"Icarus,"* son of Dædalus of Crete, who, emulating his "des-

If thou wilt fight, fight by thy father's side;
And, commendable proved, let 's die in pride.
[*Exeunt.*

perate sire" in the attempt to fly with wings, fell into the sea.—C. H. H.

57. In these scenes the Poet anticipates an event that did not take place till 1453, more than eight years after the marriage of the king, with which the First Part concludes. The life of this drama, so far as it hath any, apparently consists in referring the loss of the French provinces to the rivalries and enmities among the English nobility; and that anticipation was with a view, no doubt, to set forth in a more impressive manner the train of disasters growing out of that cause. Talbot was at this time in his eightieth year. The event of his death is thus related by Holinshed: "The earle hasted forward towards his enemies, doubting most least they would have beene quite fled and gone before his comming. But they, fearing the displeasure of the French king, abode his comming, and so received him. Though he first with manfull courage and sore fighting wan the entrie of their campe, yet at length they compassed him about, and, shooting him through the thigh with a handgun, slue his horsse, and finally killed him lieng on the ground, whome they durst never looke in the face, while he stood on his feet. It was said, that after he perceived there was no remedie, but present loss of the battell, he counselled his sonne to save himselfe by flight, sith the same could not redound to anie great reproch in him, this being the first journie in which he had beene present. Manie words he used to persuade him to have saved his life: but nature so wrought in the son, that neither desire of life nor feare of death could either cause him to shrinke, or conveie himselfe out of the danger; and so there manfullie ended his life with his said father." The dialogue that was said to have passed between old Talbot and his son is given more fully by Hall; and the Poet's representation in this scene was doubtless built upon the narrative of the elder chronicler."—H. N. H.

Scene VII

Another part of the field.

Alarum: excursions. Enter old Talbot led by a Servant.

Tal. Where is my other life? mine own is gone;
O, where's young Talbot? where is valiant John?
Triumphant death, smear'd with captivity,
Young Talbot's valor makes me smile at thee:
When he perceived me shrink and on my knee,
His bloody sword he brandish'd over me,
And, like a hungry lion, did commence
Rough deeds of rage and stern impatience;
But when my angry guardant stood alone,
Tendering my ruin and assail'd of none,
Dizzy-eyed fury and great rage of heart

3, 4.

"Triumphant Death, smear'd with captivity,
Young Talbot's valor makes me smile at thee";

the phrase *"smear'd with captivity,"* has not been clearly explained; at first sight it is difficult to determine its exact force, and whether the words refer to Death or to the speaker (Talbot). Leo explains that "Death is supposed to go triumphantly over the battle field, *smeared* with the *terrible* aspect of captivity"; but possibly the reference is to the Christian belief that Christ took Death captive. Death the Victor is, from this point of view, Death the Victim; it is, as it were, unconsciously smeared (*i. e.* smirched) with the wretched (not the *terrible*) aspect of captivity.—I. G.

10. That is, so *tender* of me in my ruin, or watching me so *tenderly*. Thus in the Second Part, Act iii. sc. 1: "I *tender* so the safety of my liege." And in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster*, Act iii. sc. 1: "Something is done that will distract me, that will make me mad, if I behold thee: If thou *tender'st* me, let me not see thee."—Of course *ruin* is here used in the primitive sense of *fall*. —H. N. H.

Suddenly made him from my side to start
Into the clustering battle of the French;
And in that sea of blood my boy did drench
His over-mounting spirit, and there died,
My Icarus, my blossom, in his pride.

Serv. O my dear lord, lo, where your son is borne!

Enter Soldiers, with the body of young Talbot.

Tal. Thou antic death, which laugh'st us here to scorn,
Anon, from thy insulting tyranny,
Coupled in bonds of perpetuity,
Two Talbots, winged through the lither sky,
In thy despite shall 'scape mortality.
O thou, whose wounds become hard-favor'd death,
Speak to thy father ere thou yield thy breath!
Brave death by speaking, whether he will or no;
Imagine him a Frenchman and thy foe.
Poor boy! he smiles, methinks, as who should say,
Had death been French, then death had died to-day.
Come, come and lay him in his father's arms:
My spirit can no longer bear these harms.
Soldiers, adieu! I have what I would have,

18. *"antic,"* jester, clown; from the grinning teeth of the skeleton by which Death was figured.—C. H. H.

21. *"Lither"* is limber, pliant, yielding; as in Paradise Lost, Book iv.: "The unwieldy elephant, to make them mirth, used all his might, and wreath'd his *lithe* proboscis."—Of course *sky* is here put for *air,* the meaning thus being much the same as in Milton's, —"He with broad sails winnow'd the *buxom air";* where buxom is used in its original sense of pliant, yielding.—H. N. H.

Now my old arms are young John Talbot's grave. [*Dies.*

Enter Charles, Alençon, Burgundy, Bastard, La Pucelle, and forces.

Char. Had York and Somerset brought rescue in,
We should have found a bloody day of this.
Bast. How the young whelp of Talbot's, raging-wood,
Did flesh his puny sword in Frenchmen's blood!
Puc. Once I encounter'd him, and thus I said:
'Thou maiden youth, be vanquish'd by a maid:'
But, with a proud majestical high scorn,
He answer'd thus: 'Young Talbot was not born
To be the pillage of a giglot wench:' 41
So, rushing in the bowels of the French,
He left me proudly, as unworthy fight.
Bur. Doubtless he would have made a noble knight:
See, where he lies inhearsed in the arms

32. The battle in which the Talbots fell is known in history as the battle of Chatillon, the name of a fortress not far from Bordeaux, and took place in July, 1453. The occasion was this: The preceding year, while England was torn with civil war, all France having been lost, the people of Guienne, impatient of French tyranny, sent over a deputation, offering to renew their allegiance, and soliciting the aid of an army. The invitation was gladly accepted, and the command given to the veteran earl of Shrewsbury. The old hero used such energy and despatch, that he took possession of Bordeaux and the surrounding country before the French could interpose any hindrance. The next spring, while he was extending his conquests, a French army invested Chatillon, which he had before taken and fortified. Talbot, hastening to its relief, surprised and defeated a large body of the enemy; whereupon the French retired into an intrenched camp lined with three hundred pieces of cannon. He then ordered an assault, and the enemy began to waver, when the arrival of a new body of men turned the day against him.—H. N. H.

Of the most bloody nurser of his harms!

Bast. Hew them to pieces, hack their bones asunder,
Whose life was England's glory, Gallia's wonder.

Char. O, no, forbear! for that which we have fled
During the life, let us not wrong it dead.

Enter Sir William Lucy, attended; Herald of the French preceding.

Lucy. Herald, conduct me to the Dauphin's tent,
To know who hath obtain'd the glory of the day.

Char. On what submissive message art thou sent?

Lucy. Submission, Dauphin! 'tis a mere French word;
We English warriors wot not what it means.
I come to know what prisoners thou hast ta'en,
And to survey the bodies of the dead.

Char. For prisoners ask'st thou? hell our prison is.
But tell me whom thou seek'st.

Lucy. But where 's the great Alcides of the field,
Valiant Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury,
Created, for his rare success in arms,
Great Earl of Washford, Waterford and Valence;
Lord Talbot of Goodrig and Urchinfield,
Lord Strange of Blackmere, Lord Verdun of Alton,

60. *"But where's"*; so Ff.; Rowe, *"Where is"*; Lettsom proposed, *"First, where's."*—I. G.

63. *"Washford,"* Wexford.—C. H. H.

Lord Cromwell of Wingfield, Lord Furnival of Sheffield,
The thrice-victorious Lord of Falconbridge;
Knight of the noble order of Saint George,
Worthy Saint Michael and the Golden Fleece;
Great marshal to Henry the Sixth
Of all his wars within the realm of France?
Puc. Here is a silly stately style indeed!
The Turk, that two and fifty kingdoms hath,
Writes not so tedious a style as this.
Him that thou magnifiest with all these titles
Stinking and fly-blown lies here at our feet.
Lucy. Is Talbot slain, the Frenchman's only scourge,
Your kingdom's terror and black Nemesis?
O, were mine eye-balls into bullets turn'd,
That I in rage might shoot them at your faces!
O, that I could but call these dead to life!
It were enough to fright the realm of France:
Were but his picture left amongst you here,
It would amaze the proudest of you all.
Give me their bodies, that I may bear them hence
And give them burial as beseems their worth.
Puc. I think this upstart is old Talbot's ghost,
He speaks with such a proud commanding spirit,
For God's sake, let him have 'em; to keep them here,

70. *"Henry";* so F. 1; Ff. 2, 3, 4, *"our King Henry."* The line is probably to be read:—

"Great mareshal to Henery the Sixth."—I. G.

They would but stink, and putrify the air.
Char. Go, take their bodies hence.
Lucy. I 'll bear them hence; but from their ashes shall be rear'd
A phœnix that shall make all France afeard.
Char. So we be rid of them, do with 'em what thou wilt.
And now to Paris, in this conquering vein:
All will be ours, now bloody Talbot 's slain.
[*Exeunt.*

ACT FIFTH

Scene I

London. The palace.

Sennet. Enter King, Gloucester, and Exeter.

King. Have you perused the letters from the pope,
The emperor, and the Earl of Armagnac?
Glou. I have, my lord: and their intent is this:
They humbly sue unto your excellence
To have a godly peace concluded of
Between the realms of England and of France.
King. How doth your grace affect their motion?
Glou. Well, my good lord; and as the only means
To stop effusion of our Christian blood
And stablish quietness on every side.
King. Aye, marry, uncle; for I always thought
It was both impious and unnatural
That such immanity and bloody strife
Should reign among professors of one faith.
Glou. Beside, my lord, the sooner to effect
And surer bind this knot of amity,
The Earl of Armagnac, near knit to Charles,

17. *"Knit,"* the reading of the Ff.; Pope first suggested *"kin,"* which was also adopted by Theobald, Hanmer, Warburton, and Johnson; Capell restored *"knit,"* which was adopted by Steevens and Malone. The Cambridge editions see in *"knit,"* "a conceit suggested by the 'Knot of amity' in the preceding line."—I. G.

A man of great authority in France,
Proffers his only daughter to your grace
In marriage, with a large and sumptuous dowry.

King. Marriage, uncle! alas, my years are young!
And fitter is my study and my books
Than wanton dalliance with a paramour.
Yet call the ambassadors; and, as you please,
So let them have their answers every one:
I shall be well content with any choice
Tends to God's glory and my country's weal.

Enter Winchester in Cardinal's habit, a Legate and two Ambassadors.

Exe. What! is my Lord of Winchester install'd,
And call'd unto a cardinal's degree?
Then I perceive that will be verified

21. *"Marriage, uncle! alas, my years are young!"* Pope reads, *"Marriage, alas! my years are yet too young"*; Capell, *"Marriage, good uncle! alas, my years are young"*; Walker, *"Marriage, uncle, 'las my years are young."*—I. G.

"My years are young"; "His majesty was, however, twenty-four years old."—Malone.

29. Beaufort's preferment to "a cardinal's degree" having happened about fifteen years back, it may seem strange that Exeter should now for the first time wonder at it as something new. This, however, is quite in keeping with other things in the same scene, such as the alleged youth of the king, who was at this time twenty-three years old; and was, no doubt, done knowingly and upon principle, the later and earlier events being thus drawn nearer together for the convenience of the drama, and to preserve a more sensible unity in the representation. The point is well stated by Coleridge: "The history of our ancient kings,—the events of their reigns, I mean,—are like stars in the sky;—whatever the real interspaces may be, and however great, they seem close to each other. The stars—the events—strike us and remain in our eye, little modified by the difference of dates."—H. N. H.

Henry the Fifth did sometime prophesy,
'If once he come to be a cardinal,
He 'll make his cap co-equal with the crown.'
King. My lords ambassadors, your several suits
Have been consider'd and debated on.
Your purpose is but good and reasonable;
And therefore are we certainly resolved
To draw conditions of a friendly peace;
Which by my Lord of Winchester we mean
Shall be transported presently to France.
Glou. And for the proffer of my lord your master,
I have inform'd his highness so at large,
As liking of the lady's virtuous gifts,
Her beauty and the value of her dower,
He doth intend she shall be England's queen.
King. In argument and proof of which contract,
Bear her this jewel, pledge of my affection.
And so, my lord protector, see them guarded
And safely brought to Dover; where inshipp'd
Commit them to the fortune of the sea.
[*Exeunt all but Winchester and Legate.*
Win. Stay my lord legate: you shall first receive
The sum of money which I promised
Should be deliver'd to his holiness
For clothing me in these grave ornaments.
Leg. I will attend upon your lordship's leisure.
Win. [*Aside*] Now Winchester will not submit, I trow,

46. *"argument,"* evidence.—C. H. H.
49. *"where inshipp'd"*; the reading of F. 4; Ff. 1, 2, *wherein ship'd"*; F. 3, *"wherein shipp'd."*—I. G.

Or be inferior to the proudest peer.
Humphrey of Gloucester, thou shalt well perceive
That, neither in birth or for authority,
The bishop will be overborne by thee:
I 'll either make thee stoop and bend thy knee,
Or sack this country with a mutiny. [*Exeunt.*

Scene II

France. Plains in Anjou.

Enter Charles, Burgundy, Alençon, Bastard, Reignier, La Pucelle, and forces.

Char. These news, my lords, may cheer our drooping spirits:
'Tis said the stout Parisians do revolt

62. The negotiation, of which we here have a showing, took place in 1442. The matter is thus related by Holinshed: "In this yeare died in Guien the countesse of Comings, to whome the French king and also the earle of Arminacke pretended to be heire, insomuch that the earle entred into all the lands of the said ladie. And bicause he knew the French king would not take the matter well, to have a Rouland for an Oliver he sent ambassadours to the king of England, offering him his daughter in mariage, with promise to deliver all such castels and townes as he or his ancestors deteined from him within anie part of the duchie of Aquitaine. This offer seemed so profitable and honorable, that the ambassadours were well heard, honorably received, and with rewards sent home. After whome were sent sir Edward Hull, sir Robert Ros, and John Gralton, the which both concluded the mariage, and by proxie affied the yoong ladie. The French king, not a little offended herewith, sent his eldest sonne, with a puissant armie, which tooke the earle and his yoongest sonne, with both his daughters; and so by reason hereof the concluded mariage was deferred, and that so long that it never tooke effect."—H. N. H.

And turn again unto the warlike French.

Alen. Then march to Paris, royal Charles of France,
And keep not back your powers in dalliance.

Puc. Peace be amongst them, if they turn to us;
Else, ruin combat with their palaces!

Enter Scout.

Scout. Success unto our valiant general,
And happiness to his accomplices!

Char. What tidings send our scouts? I prithee, speak.

Scout. The English army, that divided was
Into two parties, is now conjoin'd in one,
And means to give you battle presently.

Char. Somewhat too sudden, sirs, the warning is;
But we will presently provide for them.

Bur. I trust the ghost of Talbot is not there:
Now he is gone, my lord, you need not fear.

Puc. Of all base passions, fear is most accursed.
Command the conquest, Charles, it shall be thine,
Let Henry fret and all the world repine.

Char. Then on, my lords; and France be fortunate! [*Exeunt.*

Scene III

Before Angiers.

Alarum. Excursions. Enter La Pucelle.

Puc. The regent conquers, and the Frenchmen fly.
Now help, ye charming spells and periapts;
And ye choice spirits that admonish me,
And give me signs of future accidents.
[*Thunder.*
You speedy helpers, that are substitutes
Under the lordly monarch of the north,
Appear and aid me in this enterprise.

Enter Fiends.

This speedy and quick appearance argues proof
Of your accustom'd diligence to me.
Now, ye familiar spirits, that are cull'd
Out of the powerful regions under earth,
Help me this once, that France may get the field. [*They walk, and speak not.*
O, hold me not with silence over-long!
Where I was wont to feed you with my blood,
I 'll lop a member off and give it you

2. *"Periapts"* were certain written charms worn about the person as preservatives from disease and danger. Of these the first chapter of St. John's Gospel was deemed the most efficacious.—H. N. H.

6. The *"monarch of the north"* was Zimimar, one of the four principal devils invoked by witches. The north was supposed to be the particular habitation of bad spirits. Milton assembles the rebel angels in the *north*.—H. N. H.

8. *"speedy and quick"*; Pope, *"speedy quick"*; Walker, *"speed and quick."* *"argues"*; Vaughan, *"urges."*—I. G.

10. *"cull'd"*; Collier MS., *"call'd."*—I. G.

11. *"regions"*; Ff., *"Regions"*; Warburton, *"legions."*—I. G.

In earnest of a further benefit,
So you do condescend to help me now.
[*They hang their heads.*
No hope to have redress? My body shall
Pay recompense, if you will grant my suit.
[*They shake their heads.*
Cannot my body nor blood-sacrifice
Entreat you to your wonted furtherance?
Then take my soul, my body, soul and all,
Before that England give the French the foil.
[*They depart.*
See, they forsake me! Now the time is come
That France must vail her lofty-plumed crest,
And let her head fall into England's lap.
My ancient incantations are too weak,
And hell too strong for me to buckle with:
Now, France, thy glory droopeth to the dust.
[*Exit.*

Excursions. Re-enter La Pucelle fighting hand to hand with York: La Pucelle is taken. The French fly.

York. Damsel of France, I think I have you fast:
Unchain your spirits now with spelling charms,
And try if they can gain your liberty.
A goodly prize, fit for the devil's grace!
See, how the ugly witch doth bend her brows,
As if with Circe she would change my shape!
Puc. Changed to a worser shape thou canst not be.
York. O, Charles the Dauphin is a proper man;
No shape but his can please your dainty eye.

Puc. A plaguing mischief light on Charles and thee!
And may ye both be suddenly surprised
By bloody hands, in sleeping on your beds!
York. Fell banning hag, enchantress, hold thy tongue!
Puc. I prithee, give me leave to curse awhile.
York. Curse, miscreant, when thou comest to the stake. [*Exeunt.*

Alarum. Enter Suffolk, with Margaret in his hand.

Suf. Be what thou wilt, thou art my prisoner. [*Gazes on her.*
O fairest beauty, do not fear nor fly!
For I will touch thee but with reverent hands;
I kiss these fingers for eternal peace,
And lay them gently on thy tender side.
Who art thou? say, that I may honor thee.
Mar. Margaret my name, and daughter to a king,

44. The capture of Joan was in May, 1430, twelve years before the event of the first scene of this Act, and more than five years before the death of Bedford, and while Burgundy was yet in alliance with the English. The latter undertaking to reduce the city of Compeigne, Joan went with an army to raise the siege. On the march she met and routed a force of Burgundians, and, having taken Franquet, their leader, had him beheaded on the spot. Reinforcements pouring in from all sides, she was soon forced to retreat, herself taking the rear-guard, and repeatedly turning upon the pursuers, and keeping them off; till, at last, her men being broken, she was pulled from her horse by an archer, and, lying on the ground, surrendered herself. The heroine was then conducted to John of Luxemburg, who some months after sold her into the hands of the regent.—H. N. H.

48, 49. *"I kiss . . . side";* Capell and other editors transpose these lines:—*"And lay . . . side. I kiss . . .* [kissing her hand] *. . . peace."*—I. G.

The King of Naples, whosoe'er thou art.
Suf. An earl I am, and Suffolk am I call'd.
Be not offended, nature's miracle,
Thou art allotted to be ta'en by me:
So doth the swan her downy cygnets save,
Keeping them prisoner underneath her wings.
Yet, if this servile usage once offend,
Go and be free again as Suffolk's friend.
[*She is going.*
O, stay! I have no power to let her pass;
My hand would free her, but my heart says no.
As plays the sun upon the glassy streams,
Twinkling another counterfeited beam,
So seems this gorgeous beauty to mine eyes.
Fain would I woo her, yet I dare not speak:
I 'll call for pen and ink, and write my mind.
Fie, de la Pole! disable not thyself;
Hast not a tongue? is she not here?
Wilt thou be daunted at a woman's sight?
Aye, beauty's princely majesty is such,
Confounds the tongue and makes the senses rough.

57. *"Keeping them prisoner underneath her wings";* Ff. 1, 2, *"prisoner";* Ff. 3, 4, *"prisoners";* Vaughan, *"prisoned"; "her wings,"* Ff. 3, 4; F. 1, *"his wings";* F. 2, *"hir wings";* Vaughan, *"its wings."* —I. G.

63. *"Twinkling another counterfeited beam";* Vaughan, *"Kindling another counterfeited beam";* or *"Twinkling in other counterfeited beams."*—I. G.

68. *"Hast not a tongue? is she not here?"* Anon. conj. *"tongue to speak?" "here"?;* F. 1, *"heere?";* Ff. 2, 3, 4, *"heere thy prisoner";* Keightley, *"here alone";* Lettsom, *"here in place,"* or *"here beside thee";* Vaughan, *"present here."*—I. G.

71. *"makes the senses rough";* so the Ff.; Hanmer, *"makes the senses crouch";* Capell, *"make . . . crouch";* Jackson, *"makes the senses touch";* Collier MS., *"mocks the sense of touch."*—I. G.

Mar. Say, Earl of Suffolk,—if thy name be so—
What ransom must I pay before I pass?
For I perceive I am thy prisoner.
Suf. How canst thou tell she will deny thy suit,
Before thou make a trial of her love?
Mar. Why speak'st thou not? what ransom must I pay?
Suf. She 's beautiful and therefore to be woo'd;
She is a woman, therefore to be won.
Mar. Wilt thou accept a ransom? yea, or no.
Suf. Fond man, remember that thou hast a wife;
Then how can Margaret be thy paramour?
Mar. I were best to leave him, for he will not hear.
Suf. There all is marr'd; there lies a cooling card.
Mar. He talks at random; sure, the man is mad.
Suf. And yet a dispensation may be had.
Mar. And yet I would that you would answer me.
Suf. I 'll win this Lady Margaret. For whom?
Why, for my king; tush, that 's a wooden thing!
Mar. He talks of wood: it is some carpenter.
Suf. Yet so my fancy may be satisfied,
And peace established between these realms.
But there remains a scruple in that too;
For though her father be the King of Naples,
Duke of Anjou and Maine, yet is he poor,
And our nobility will scorn the match.
Mar. Hear ye, captain, are you not at leisure?
Suf. It shall be so, disdain they ne'er so much:

78, 79. *"She's beautiful, and therefore to be woo'd,"* &c. These lines were evidently proverbial; cp. *Richard III,* I. ii. 228, 230, and *Titus Andronicus,* II. i. 82, 83.—I. G.

84. *"cooling card,"* something which dashes hope, "throws cold water" on eager expectation.—C. H. H.

Henry is youthful and will quickly yield.
Madam, I have a secret to reveal.
Mar. What though I be enthrall'd? he seems a knight,
And will not any way dishonor me.
Suf. Lady, vouchsafe to listen what I say.
Mar. Perhaps I shall be rescued by the French;
And then I need not crave his courtesy.
Suf. Sweet madam, give me hearing in a cause—
Mar. Tush, women have been captivate ere now.
Suf. Lady, wherefore talk you so?
Mar. I cry you mercy, 'tis but Quid for Quo.
Suf. Say, gentle princess, would you not suppose
Your bondage happy, to be made a queen?
Mar. To be a queen in bondage is more vile
That is a slave in base servility;
For princes should be free.
Suf. And so shall you,
If happy England's royal king be free.
Mar. Why, what concerns his freedom unto me?
Suf. I 'll undertake to make thee Henry's queen,
To put a golden scepter in thy hand
And set a precious crown upon thy head,
If thou wilt condescend to be my—
Mar. What?
Suf. His love.
Mar. I am unworthy to be Henry's wife.
Suf. No, gentle madam; I unworthy am
To woo so fair a dame to be his wife,

108. *"Lady";* Capell, *"Nay, hear me, lady";* Collier MS., *"Lady, pray tell me";* Lettsom, *"Lady, sweet lady";* Dyce, *"I prithee, lady."* —I. G.

And have no portion in the choice myself.
How say you, madam, are ye so content?
Mar. An if my father please, I am content.
Suf. Then call our captain and our colors forth.
And, madam, at your father's castle walls
We 'll crave a parley, to confer with him.

A parley sounded. Enter Reignier on the walls.

See, Reignier, see, thy daughter prisoner!
Reig. To whom?
Suf. To me.
Reig. Suffolk, what remedy?
I am a soldier, and unapt to weep,
Or to exclaim on fortune's fickleness.
Suf. Yes, there is remedy enough, my lord:
Consent, and for thy honor give consent,
Thy daughter shall be wedded to my king;
Whom I with pain have woo'd and won thereto;
And this her easy-held imprisonment
Hath gain'd thy daughter princely liberty.
Reig. Speaks Suffolk as he thinks?
Suf. Fair Margaret knows
That Suffolk doth not flatter, face, or feign.
Reig. Upon thy princely warrant, I descend
To give thee answer of thy just demand.
[*Exit from the walls.*
Suf. And here I will expect thy coming.

142. *"face,"* play the hypocrite.—C. H. H.

145. *"And here I will expect thy coming"*; Dyce, *"here, my lord"*; F. 4, *"coming"*; Ff. 1, 2, 3, *"comming"*; Capell, *"coming, Reignier"*; Collier MS., *"coming down"*; Anon. conj. *"coming, king"*; Anon. conj. *"communing."*—I. G.

Trumpets sound. Enter Reignier, below.

Reig. Welcome, brave earl, into our territories:
Command in Anjou what your honor pleases.
Suf. Thanks, Reignier, happy for so sweet a child,
Fit to be made companion with a king:
What answer makes your grace unto my suit?
Reig. Since thou dost deign to woo her little worth
To be the princely bride of such a lord;
Upon condition I may quietly
Enjoy mine own, the country Maine and Anjou,
Free from oppression or the stroke of war,
My daughter shall be Henry's, if he please.
Suf. That is her ransom; I deliver her;
And those two counties I will undertake
Your grace shall well and quietly enjoy.
Reig. And I again, in Henry's royal name,
As deputy unto that gracious king,
Give thee her hand, for sign of plighted faith.
Suf. Reignier of France, I give thee kingly thanks,
Because this is in traffic of a king.
[*Aside*] And yet, methinks, I could be well content
To be mine own attorney in this case.
I 'll over then to England with this news,
And make this marriage to be solemnized.
So farewell, Reignier; set this diamond safe
In golden palaces, as it becomes.
Reig. I do embrace thee, as I would embrace

154. *"country"*; so the Ff.; Theobald, *"counties"*; Capell, *"countries"*; Malone, *"county."*—I. G.

164. *"in traffic of a king,"* in a king's business.—C. H. H.

The Christian prince, King Henry, were he here.

Mar. Farewell, my lord: good wishes, praise and prayers.
Shall Suffolk ever have of Margaret. [*Going.*

Suf. Farewell, sweet madam: but hark you, Margaret;
No princely commendations to my king?

Mar. Such commendations as becomes a maid,
A virgin and his servant, say to him.

Suf. Words sweetly placed and modestly directed.
But, madam, I must trouble you again;
No loving token to his majesty?

Mar. Yes, my good lord, a pure unspotted heart,
Never yet taint with love, I send the king.

Suf. And this withal. [*Kisses her.*

Mar. That for thyself: I will not so presume
To send such peevish tokens to a king.
[*Exeunt Reignier and Margaret.*

Suf. O, wert thou for myself! But, Suffolk, stay;
Thou mayst not wander in that labyrinth;
There Minotaurs and ugly treasons lurk.
Solicit Henry with her wondrous praise:
Bethink thee on her virtues that surmount,
And natural graces that extinguish art;
Repeat their semblance often on the seas,

179. *"modestly";* F. 1, *"modestie."*—I. G.

189. *"Minotaurs," monsters* (from the mythical Minotaur of Crete, vanquished by Theseus).—C. H. H.

192. *"And natural";* Perring, *"Maid-natural";* Capell, *"And";* F. 1, *"Mad";* Ff. 2, 3, 4, *"Made";* Pope, *"Her";* Collier, *"'Mid";* Jackson conj. *"Man";* Barry, *"Made";* Vaughan, *"Mild."*—I. G.

That, when thou comest to kneel at Henry's feet,
Thou mayst bereave him of his wits with wonder. [*Exit.*

Scene IV

Camp of the Duke of York in Anjou.

Enter York, Warwick, and others.

York. Bring forth that sorceress condemn'd to burn.

Enter La Pucelle, guarded, and a Shepherd.

Shep. Ah, Joan, this kills thy father's heart outright!
Have I sought every country far and near,
And now it is my chance to find thee out,
Must I behold thy timeless cruel death?
Ah, Joan, sweet daughter Joan, I 'll die with thee!

Puc. Decrepit miser! base ignoble wretch!
I am descended of a gentler blood:
Thou art no father nor no friend of mine.

Shep. Out, out! My lords, as please you, 'tis not so;
I did beget her, all the parish knows:
Her mother liveth yet, can testify
She was the first fruit of my bachelorship.

7. *"Miser"* has no relation to avarice in this passage, but simply means a *miserable creature,* in which sense it was often used.—H. N. H.

War. Graceless! wilt thou deny thy parentage?
York. This argues what her kind of life hath been,
Wicked and vile; and so her death concludes.
Shep. Fie, Joan, that thou wilt be so obstacle!
God knows thou art a collop of my flesh;
And for thy sake have I shed many a tear:
Deny me not, I prithee, gentle Joan.
Puc. Peasant, avaunt! You have suborn'd this man,
Of purpose to obscure my noble birth.
Shep. 'Tis true, I gave a noble to the priest
The morn that I was wedded to her mother.
Kneel down and take my blessing, good my girl.
Wilt thou not stoop? Now cursed be the time
Of thy nativity! I would the milk
Thy mother gave thee when thou suck'dst her breast,
Had been a little ratsbane for thy sake!
Or else, when thou didst keep my lambs a-field,
I wish some ravenous wolf had eaten thee!
Dost thou deny thy father, cursed drab?
O, burn her, burn her! hanging is too good.
[*Exit.*
York. Take her away; for she hath lived too long,
To fill the world with vicious qualities.
Puc. First, let me tell you whom you have condemn'd:
Not me begotten of a shepherd swain,

17. *"Obstacle"* was used to be put into the mouths of rustic or illiterate speakers, for *obstinate.*—H. N. H.

37. *"Not me begotten";* Anon. conj. *"Me, not begotten";* Malone,

But issued from the progeny of kings;
Virtuous and holy; chosen from above,
By inspiration of celestial grace,
To work exceeding miracles on earth.
I never had to do with wicked spirits:
But you, that are polluted with your lusts,
Stain'd with the guiltless blood of innocents,
Corrupt and tainted with a thousand vices,
Because you want the grace that others have,
You judge it straight a thing impossible
To compass wonders but by help of devils.
No, misconceived! Joan of Arc hath been
A virgin from her tender infancy,
Chaste and immaculate in very thought;
Whose maiden blood, thus rigorously effused,
Will cry for vengeance at the gates of heaven.

York. Aye, aye: away with her to execution!

War. And hark ye, sirs; because she is a maid,
Spare for no faggots, let there be enow:
Place barrels of pitch upon the fatal stake,
That so her torture may be shortened.

Puc. Will nothing turn your unrelenting hearts?
Then, Joan, discover thine infirmity,
That warranteth by law to be thy privilege.
I am with child, ye bloody homicides:
Murder not then the fruit within my womb,
Although ye hale me to a violent death.

"Not one begotten"; Anon. conj. *"Not mean-begotten."*—I. G.

49. *"No, misconceived!";* so Steevens; Ff. 1, 2, 3, *"No misconceived,"* F. 4, *"no, misconceived Joan";* Capell, *"No, misconceivers";* Vaughan, *"No, misconceited!"*—I. G.

"misconceived," misjudging one.—C. H. H.

York. Now heaven forfend! the holy maid with child!
War. The greatest miracle that e'er ye wrought:
Is all your strict preciseness come to this?
York. She and the Dauphin have been juggling:
I did imagine what would be her refuge.
War. Well, go to; we 'll have no bastards live;
Especially since Charles must father it.
Puc. You are deceived; my child is none of his:
It was Alençon that enjoy'd my love.
York. Alençon! that notorious Machiavel!
It dies, an if it had a thousand lives.
Puc. O, give me leave, I have deluded you:
'Twas neither Charles nor yet the duke I named,
But Reignier, king of Naples, that prevail'd.
War. A married man! that 's most intolerable.
York. Why, here 's a girl! I think she knows not well,
There were so many, whom she may accuse.
War. It 's sign she hath been liberal and free.
York. And yet, forsooth, she is a virgin pure.

78. For this murdering of the heroic maiden's character,—a thing more cruel than her death itself,—Shakespeare had the authority of the chroniclers, and, doubtless, of popular tradition. The following is Holinshed's story: "But herein, she fullie afore possest of the feend, not able to hold hir in anie towardnesse of grace, falling streight waie into hir former abominations, yet seeking to eetch out life as long as she might, stake not to confesse hir selfe a strumpet, and to be with child. For triall, the lord regents lenitie gave hir nine months staie, at the end whereof she found herein as false as wicked in the rest, and eight daies after was delivered over to secular power, and so executed by consumption of fire in the old market place at Rone."—H. N. H.

Strumpet, thy words condemn thy brat and thee:
Use no entreaty, for it is in vain.

Puc. Then lead me hence; with whom I leave my curse:
May never glorious sun reflex his beams
Upon the country where you make abode:
But darkness and the gloomy shade of death
Environ you, till mischief and despair
Drive you to break your necks or hang yourselves! [*Exit, guarded*

York. Break thou in pieces and consume to ashes,
Thou foul accursed minister of hell!

Enter Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, attended.

Car. Lord regent, I do greet your excellence
With letters of commission from the king.
For know, my lord, the states of Christendom,

93. Joan of Arc was burned, as "an agent of the devil," at Rouen, May 30, 1431. The inhuman sentence was the result of an ecclesiastical trial, at which the bishop of Beauvais presided, she having been taken in his diocese. Yet the violence of her enemies was not so cruel as the neglect of those who ought to have been her friends. The matter is thus stated by Lingard: "If ever prince were indebted to a subject, Charles VII was indebted to Joan of Arc. She had dispelled the terror with which success had invested the English arms, had reanimated the courage of the French soldiery, and had firmly established the king on the throne of his ancestors. Yet, from the moment of her captivity she appears to have been forgotten. We read not of any sum offered for her ransom, or attempt made to alleviate the rigor of her confinement, or notice taken of her trial and execution."—Perhaps it should be alleged in the Poet's behalf, that without any attempt at moral didactics he makes us resent the atrocious cruelty put upon the maiden; though he hints not the hard ingratitude of those whose deliverance she had wrought.—H. N. H.

Moved with remorse of these outrageous broils,
Have earnestly implored a general peace
Betwixt our nation and the aspiring French;
And here at hand the Dauphin and his train
Approacheth, to confer about some matter.

York. Is all our travail turn'd to this effect?
After the slaughter of so many peers,
So many captains, gentlemen and soldiers,
That in this quarrel have been overthrown,
And sold their bodies for their country's benefit,
Shall we at last conclude effeminate peace?
Have we not lost most part of all the towns,
By treason, falsehood and by treachery,
Our great progenitors had conquered?
O, Warwick, Warwick! I foresee with grief
The utter loss of all the realm of France.

War. Be patient, York: if we conclude a peace,
It shall be with such strict and severe covenants
As little shall the Frenchmen gain thereby.

Enter Charles, Alençon, Bastard, Reignier, and others,

Char. Since, lords of England, it is thus agreed
That peaceful truce shall be proclaim'd in France,
We come to be informed by yourselves
What the conditions of that league must be.

York. Speak, Winchester; for boiling choler chokes
The hollow passage of my poison'd voice,
By sight of these our baleful enemies.

121. *"Poison'd"*; Theobald, *"prison'd."*—I. G.

Car. Charles, and the rest, it is enacted thus:
That, in regard King Henry gives consent,
Of mere compassion and of lenity,
To ease your country of distressful war,
And suffer you to breathe in fruitful peace,
You shall become true liegemen to his crown:
And, Charles, upon condition thou wilt swear
To pay him tribute, and submit thyself,
Thou shalt be placed as viceroy under him,
And still enjoy the regal dignity.
Alen. Must he be then as shadow of himself?
Adorn his temples with a coronet,
And yet, in substance and authority,
Retain but privilege of a private man?
This proffer is absurd and reasonless.
Char. 'Tis known already that I am possess'd
With more than half the Gallian territories,
And therein reverenced for their lawful king:
Shall I, for lucre of the rest unvanquish'd,
Detract so much from that prerogative,
As to be call'd but viceroy of the whole?
No, lord ambassador, I 'll rather keep
That which I have than, coveting for more,
Be cast from possibility of all.
York. Insulting Charles! hast thou by secret means
Used intercession to obtain a league,
And, now the matter grows to compromise,
Stand'st thou aloof upon comparison?
Either accept the title thou usurp'st,

150. *"Stand'st thou aloof upon comparison?"* "Do you stand to compare your present state, a state which you have neither right nor power to maintain, with the terms which we offer?"—Johnson.

Of benefit proceeding from our king
And not of any challenge of desert,
Or we will plague thee with incessant wars.

Reig. My lord, you do not well in obstinacy
To cavil in the course of this contract:
If once it be neglected, ten to one
We shall not find like opportunity.

Alen. To say the truth, it is your policy
To save your subjects from such massacre
And ruthless slaughters, as are daily seen,
By our proceeding in hostility;
And therefore take this compact of a truce,
Although you break it when your pleasure serves.

War. How say'st thou, Charles? shall our condition stand?

Char. It shall;
Only reserved, you claim no interest
In any of our towns of garrison.

York. Then swear allegiance to his majesty,
As thou art knight, never to disobey
Nor be rebellious to the crown of England
Thou, nor thy nobles, to the crown of England.
So, now dismiss your army when ye please;
Hang up your ensigns, let your drums be still,
For here we entertain a solemn peace.

[*Exeunt.*

152. "As a gift conferred by our king"; *benefit* is, as a term of law, the bestowal of property by another.—C. H. H.

175. This *peace,* which was in reality but a *truce,* was negotiated by Suffolk, who had been sent as ambassador for that purpose, an instrument having been first signed by the king and approved by the parliament, authorizing him to conduct the treaty to the best of his abilities, and pardoning beforehand every error of judgment

Scene V

London. The royal palace.

Enter Suffolk in conference with the King, Gloucester and Exeter.

King. Your wondrous rare description, noble earl,
Of beauteous Margaret hath astonish'd me:
Her virtues graced with external gifts
Do breed love's settled passions in my heart:
And like as rigor of tempestuous gusts
Provokes the mightiest hulk against the tide,
So am I driven by breath of her renown,
Either to suffer shipwreck or arrive
Where I may have fruition of her love.
Suf. Tush, my good lord, this superficial tale

into which he might fall. The meeting of ambassadors was at Tours in February, 1444; where many things were moved for a final peace, but the best they could come to was a truce for eighteen months. For the rest, we give the words of Holinshed: "In treating of this truce, the earle of Suffolke, adventuring somewhat upon his commission, without the assent of his associats, imagined that the next waie to come to a perfect peace was to contrive a mariage betweene the French kings kinswoman, the ladie Margaret, daughter to Reiner duke of Anjou, and his sovereigne lord king Henrie. This Reiner duke of Anjou named himselfe king of Sicill, Naples, and Jerusalem, having onlie the name and stile of those realmes, without anie penie, profit, or foot of possession. This mariage was made strange to the earle at the first, and one thing seemed to be a great hinderance to it; which was, bicause the king of England occupied a great part of the duchy of Anjou and the whole county of Maine, appertaining, as was alledged, to king Reiner.—The earle condescended that Anjou and Maine should be delivered to the brides father, demanding for hir mariage neither penie nor fathing; as who would saie this new affinitie passed all riches, and excelled both gold and precious stones."—H. N. H.

Is but a preface of her worthy praise;
The chief perfections of that lovely dame,
Had I sufficient skill to utter them,
Would make a volume of enticing lines,
Able to ravish any dull conceit:
And, which is more, she is not so divine,
So full-replete with choice of all delights,
But with as humble lowliness of mind
She is content to be at your command;
Command, I mean, of virtuous chaste intents,
To love and honor Henry as her lord.
King. And otherwise will Henry ne'er presume.
Therefore, my lord protector, give consent
That Margaret may be England's royal queen.
Glou. So should I give consent to flatter sin.
You know, my lord, your highness is betroth'd
Unto another lady of esteem:
How shall we then dispense with that contract,
And not deface your honor with reproach?
Suf. As doth a ruler with unlawful oaths;
Or one that, at a triumph having vow'd
To try his strength, forsaketh yet the lists
By reason of his adversary's odds:
A poor earl's daughter is unequal odds,
And therefore may be broke without offense.
Glou. Why, what, I pray, is Margaret more than that?
Her father is no better than an earl,
Although in glorious titles he excel.
Suf. Yes, my lord, her father is a king,

39. *"Yes, my lord";* so F. 1; Ff. 2, 3, 4, *"Yes, my good lord";*

The King of Naples and Jerusalem;
And of such great authority in France,
As his alliance will confirm our peace,
And keep the Frenchman in allegiance.
Glou. And so the Earl of Armagnac may do,
Because he is near kinsman unto Charles.
Exe. Beside, his wealth doth warrant a liberal dower,
Where Reignier sooner will receive than give.
Suf. A dower, my lords! disgrace not so your king,
That he should be so abject, base and poor,
To choose for wealth and not for perfect love.
Henry is able to enrich his queen,
And not to seek a queen to make him rich:
So worthless peasants bargain for their wives,
As market-men for oxen, sheep, or horse.
Marriage is a matter of more worth
Than to be dealt in by attorneyship;
Not whom we will; but whom his grace affects,
Must be companion of his nuptial bed:
And therefore, lords, since he affects her most,
It most of all these reasons bindeth us,
In our opinions she should be preferr'd.
For what is wedlock forced but a hell,
An age of discord and continual strife?
Whereas the contrary bringeth bliss,

Anon. conj. *"Yes, yes, my lord,"* or *"Why, yes, my lord"*; Dyce, *"O, yes, my lord"*; Vaughan, *"Yes, my lord—more."*—I. G.

55. *"Marriage"*; so F. 1; Ff. 2, 3, 4, read *"But marriage"*; perhaps we should read *"marriage."*—I. G.

56. *"attorneyship,"* that is, by the intervention of another man's choice; or the discretional agency of another.—H. N. H.

64. *"bringeth,"* the reading of F. 1; Ff. 2, 3, 4, *"bringeth forth"*;

And is a pattern of celestial peace.
Whom should we match with Henry, being a king,
But Margaret, that is daughter to a king?
Her peerless feature, joined with her birth,
Approves her fit for none but for a king:
Her valiant courage and undaunted spirit,
More than in women commonly is seen,
Will answer our hope in issue of a king;
For Henry, son unto a conqueror,
Is likely to beget more conquerors,
If with a lady of so high resolve
As is fair Margaret he be link'd in love.
Then yield, my lords; and here conclude with me
That Margaret shall be queen, and none but she.

King. Whether it be through force of your report,
My noble Lord of Suffolk, or for that
My tender youth was never yet attaint
With any passion of inflaming love,
I cannot tell; but this I am assured,
I feel such sharp dissension in my breast,
Such fierce alarums both of hope and fear,
As I am sick with working of my thoughts.
Take, therefore, shipping; post, my lord, to France;
Agree to any covenants, and procure
That Lady Margaret do vouchsafe to come

perhaps the difficulty of the line is due to the quadrisyllabic nature of the word "contrary"=="cónteráry."—I. G.

To cross the seas to England, and be crown'd
King Henry's faithful and anointed queen:
For your expenses and sufficient charge,
Among the people gather up a tenth.
Be gone, I say; for, till you do return,
I rest perplexed with a thousand cares.
And you, good uncle, banish all offense:
If you do censure me by what you were,
Not what you are, I know it will excuse
This sudden execution of my will.
And so, conduct me where, from company,
I may revolve and ruminate my grief. [*Exit.*

Glou. Aye, grief, I fear me, both at first and last.
[*Exeunt Gloucester and Exeter.*

Suf. Thus Suffolk hath prevail'd; and thus he goes,
As did the youthful Paris once to Greece,
With hope to find the like event in love,
But prosper better than the Trojan did.
Margaret shall now be queen, and rule the king;
But I will rule both her, the king and realm.
[*Exit.*

90. *"To cross"*; Walker, *"Across."*—I. G.

97. To *"censure"* is here simply to *judge*. "If in judging me you consider the past frailties of your own youth."—H. N. H.

108. Suffolk set forth on this expedition in October, 1444. Thus stands the account in Holinshed: "The earle of Suffolke was made marquesse of Suffolke, which marquesse, with his wife and manie honorable personages of men and women, richlie adorned both with apparell and jewels, having with them manie costlie chariots and gorgeous horslitters, sailed into France for the conveiance of the nominated queene into the realme of England. For king Reiner, hir father, for all his long stile, had too short a pursse to send his daughter honorablie to the king hir spouse."—H. N. H.

GLOSSARY

By Israel Gollancz, M.A.

Accidents, events; V. iii. 4.
Accomplices, fellows in arms; V. ii. 9.
Admonishments, instructions; II. v. 98.
Advantage, occasion; II. v. 129.
Affects, cares for, loves; V. v. 57.
Agazed on, aghast at, gazing with amazement at; I. i. 126.
Alcides, Hercules; IV. vii. 60.
Alliance, relationship; II. v. 53.
Amaze, throw into consternation; IV. vii. 84.
Amort, "all a.," quite dejected; III. ii. 124.
Antic, buffoon; (Ff. 1, 2, *"antique"*; Ff. 3, 4, *"antick"*); IV. vii. 18.
Apparell'd, dressed; II. iv. 22.
Apparent, evident, plain; II. i. 3.
Apprehension, conception of me; (Theobald, *"reprehension"*; Vaughan, *"misapprehension"* for *"this ap."*); II. iv. 102.
Argue, show, prove; II. v. 7.
Argument, token; V. i. 46.
Arms, coat of arms; I. i. 80.
As, that; III. i. 16.
Astræa, goddess of justice; (Ff. 2, 3, 4, *"bright Astræa"*); I. vi. 4.
Attached, arrested; II. iv. 96.
Attaint, tainted; V. v. 81.
Attainted, tainted, disgraced, II. iv. 92; convicted of capital treason, II. iv. 96.
Attorneyship, discretional agency of another; V. v. 56.

Banding, uniting in troops; III. i. 81.
Banning, cursing; V. iii. 42.
Bay; "stand at b.," a term of the chase, "when the game is driven to extremity and turns against its pursuers"; IV. ii. 52.
Beard; "b. thee to thy face," set thee at defiance; I. iii. 44.
Bearing-cloth, the cloth or mantle in which the child was carried to the font; I. iii. 42.
Benefit; "of b.," used in its legal sense of property bestowed by the favor of another; V. iv. 152.
Beside, besides; III. i. 24.
Best; "I were best," it were better for me; V. iii. 83.
Bestow, place, lodge; III. ii. 88.
Bewray'd, betrayed; IV. i. 107.
Bishop; "the b. and the D. of Gloucester's men"; *i. e.* bishop's men (Hanmer, *"Bishop's"*); III. i. 78.
Blood; "in b.," in perfect health and vigor; a technical term of the chase; IV. ii. 48.
Blue coats, blue was the ordinary color of the livery of serving-men; I. iii. 47.

Boot; "it is no b.," it is no profit, use; IV. vi. 52.

Bought and sold, betrayed; IV. iv. 13.

Bounds, boundaries, limits; I. ii. 54.

Bow, depart (Collier MS., *"fly"*; Long MS., *"go"*; Vaughan, *"budge"*); IV. v. 29.

Braved, defied; II. iv. 115.

Break, broach; (Pope, *"tell"*); I. iii. 81.

Break up, break open; (Gray conjectured *"Break ope"*); I. iii. 13.

Bruited, noised abroad; II. iii. 68.

Buckle with, join in close fight with; I. ii. 95.

Bull-beeves, oxen beef; I. ii. 9.

Canker, canker-worm; II. iv. 68.

Canvass, toss as in a canvass, "toss in a blanket"; I. iii. 36.

Cap, Cardinal's hat; V. i. 33.

Captivate, captive; II. iii. 42.

Cates, delicacies, dainties; II. iii. 79.

Censure, judgment, opinion; II. iii. 10.

Censure, judge; V. v. 97.

Challenge, claim; V. iv. 153.

Charge, expense, cost; V. v. 92.

Cheer, countenance; I. ii. 48.

Circumstance, circumstances, details; I. i. 109.

Clubs, "I'll call for clubs", "in any public affray the cry was, 'Clubs! clubs!' by way of calling for persons with clubs to part the combatants" (Nares); I. iii. 84.

Coat, coat of arms; I. i. 81.

Cognizance, badge; II. iv. 108.

Collop, slice of meat; V. iv. 18.

Colors, pretence (with play upon the two senses of the word); II. iv. 34.

Commandment, command; quadrisyllabic; (Ff. 1, 2, 3, *"commandement"*); I. iii. 20.

Conceit, invention, IV. i. 102; understanding, V. v. 15.

Consented unto, conspired to bring about; I. i. 5.

Contemptible, mean, low; I. ii. 75.

Contumeliously, contemptuously; I. iii. 58.

Conveyance, dishonest practice ; I. iii. 2.

Cooling card, "something to damp or overwhelm the hope of an expectant"; V. iii. 84.

Cornets, horsemen, cavalry; IV. iii. 25.

Corrosive, fretting, giving pain; (Ff., 2, 3, *"corrasive"*; Boswell, *"a corrosive"*); III. iii. 3.

Court of guard, main guard-house; II. 1. 4.

Crazy, decrepit, weak; III. ii. 89.

Crestless, with no right to coat-armor; II. iv. 85.

Cunning, skill; III. iii. 10.

Damascus; alluding to the ancient belief that it was near the place where Cain killed Abel; I. iii. 39.

Darnel, a kind of weed, rye-grass, which is thought to be injurious to the eyes; hence the old proverb, *lelio victitare* (to feed on darnel); "tares" in Matthew xiii. 25, should perhaps properly be rendered "darnels"; III. ii. 44.

Dead, (F. 2, *"dread"*); I. iii. 34.

Dearest, most precious; III. iv. 40.

Denis; "Saint Denis," the patron saint of France; I. vi. 28.

Determined, limited; IV. vi. 9.
Devise on, lay schemes; (Vaughan, *"decide"*); I. ii. 124.
Diffidence, distrust, suspicion; III. iii. 10.
Digest, vent; (F. 2, *"disgest"*); IV. i. 167.
Disable, disparage, undervalue; V. iii. 67.
Discover, tell; II. v. 59.
Disease, cause of uneasiness, trouble; II. v. 44.
Dismay not, be not dismayed; III. iii. 1.
Distrain'd, taken possession of; I. iii. 61.
Drooping chair, chair fit for declining age; IV. v. 5.
Due, endue (? give as thy due); (Ff., *"dew"*; Collier, *"'due"*); IV. ii. 34.
Dumb significants, signs, indications; (Pope, *"d. significance"*); II. iv. 26.

Effused, shed; V. iv. 52.
Emulation, rivalry, contention; IV. iv. 21.
Endamage, injure; II. i. 77.
Enrank, place in order, battle array; I. i. 115.
Entertain, maintain, keep; (Collier MS., *"enterchange"*); V. iv. 175.
Envy, enmity; IV. i. 193.
Espials, spies; I. iv. 8.
Exempt, cut off, excluded; II. iv. 93.
Exequies, obsequies, funeral rites; III. ii. 133.
Exigent, end; (Vaughan, *"exeunt"*); II. v. 9.
Expulsed, expelled; III. iii. 25.
Extirped, extirpated; III. iii. 24.
Extremes, "most ex.," greatest extremities of danger; (Hanmer, *"worst ex."*); IV. i. 38.

Face, lie with effrontery; V. iii. 142.
Familiar, familiar spirit; III. ii. 122.
Fancy, love; V. iii. 91.
Fashion (Pope, *"passion"*; Theobald, *"faction"*); II. iv. 76.
Feature, make, form; V. v. 68.
Flesh, initiate; IV. vii. 36.
Flower-de-luces, the white lilies, the emblem of France; I. i. 80.
Fond, foolish; II. iii. 45.
Foot-boys, lackeys; III. ii. 69.
Forged, counterfeit; IV. i. 102.
Forlorn, utterly wretched, referring to former wretchedness; (Collier MS., *"forborne"*); I. ii. 19.
Forth, forth from, from out; I. ii. 54.
Fortune, fate; IV. iv. 39.
France his Sword, France's sword, *i. e.* the sword of the King of France; (Rowe, *"France's"*); IV. vi. 3.
Froissart, (Ff., *"Froysard"*); I. ii. 29.

Giglot, wanton; IV. vii. 41.
Gimmors, gimcracks, curious contrivances; (Ff. 2, 3, 4, *"Gimmalls"*); I. ii. 41.
Gird, rebuke; III. i. 131.
Gird, invest; (Ff. 1, 2, *"gyrt"*; F. 3, *"girt"*); III. i. 171.
Gleeks; "Charles his g.," *i. e.* Charles scoffs; (Ff., *"glikes"*); III. ii. 123.
Gloss, specious appearance; IV. i. 103.
Goliases, Goliaths; I. ii. 33.
Graceless, profligate; V. iv. 14.

GRAVE, dignified; (Collier, *"brave"*); V. i. 54.

GRISLY, grim, terrible; I. iv. 47.

GUARDANT, guard, sentinel; IV. vii. 9.

HALCYON DAYS; (Ff. 1, 2, *"Halcyons days"*); calm days; halcyon is the old name of the King-fisher. In Holland's Pliny occurs the following illustrative passage:—"They lay and sit about mid-winter when days be shortest; and the times whiles they are broody is called *Halcyon days,* for during that season the sea is calm and navigable, especially on the coast of Sicily" (Bk. X., ch. xxxii.); I. ii. 131.

HAND; "out of h.," directly, at once; III. ii. 102.

HAUGHTY, high-spirited, adventurous; II. v. 79.

HAVE WITH THEE, I'll go with you; II. iv. 114.

HEAD, armed force; I. iv. 100.

HEART-BLOOD, heart's blood; I. iii. 83.

HEAVENS, technically the upper part of the stage (overhung with black when a tragedy was enacted); I. i. 1.

HIS, "his beams"; *its;* I. i. 10.

HUNGRY-STARVED, starved with hunger; so Ff. 1, 2, 3; F. 4, *"hungry-starved";* Rowe, *hunger-starved";* Boswell, *"hungry, starved";* I. iv. 5.

ICARUS, the son of Dædalus, "sire of Crete," who, attempting to follow his father's example and fly on wings, was drowned in the sea; IV. vi. 55.

IMMANITY, ferocity; V. i. 13.

INKHORN MATE, bookish man (used contemptuously); III. i. 99.

INSULTING, exulting; I. ii. 138.

INTERMISSIVE, having a temporary cessation; I. i. 88.

IRKS, grievcs; I. iv. 105.

JUGGLING (trisyllabic); V. iv. 68.

KINDLY, appropriate; III. i. 131.

LATTER, last (F. 4, *"later";* Pope, *"latest"*); II. v. 38.

LIE, dwell (Pope, *"lyes"*); III. ii. 129.

LIFT, lifted (old form of past tense); I. i. 16.

LIKE, liken, compare (Hanmer, *"leave me to";* Vaughan, *"take me so"*); IV. vi. 48.

LINSTOCK, a stick to hold the gunner's match; I. iv. 56.

LITHER, soft, pliant; IV. vii. 21.

LOADEN, laden; II. i. 80.

LONG OF, because of (Ff., *"long of"*); IV. iii. 33.

LOWLY, brought low, lying low (Warburton, *"lovely"*); III. iii. 47.

LOWTED, made a fool of (Grey, *"flouted";* Nicholson, *"loiter'd";* Vaughan, *"letted"*); IV. iii. 13.

MACHIAVEL, used proverbially for a crafty politician (here an anachronism); V. iv. 74.

MALICE, hatred, III. i. 128; enmity, ill-will, IV. i. 108.

MANIFEST, obvious, evident; I. iii. 33.

MEAN, moderation, medium; I. ii. 121.

MEAN, means, instrument; III. ii. 10.

METHOD, "the m. of my pen,"

i. e. the order in which I wrote it down (Vaughan, *"them off my pen,"* or, *the method of them"*); III. i. 13.

MICKLE, great, much (Theobald, *"milky"*); IV. vi. 35.

MINOTAURS, alluding to the monsters in the Cretan Labyrinth; V. iii. 189.

MISCARRY, be lost, die; IV. iii. 16.

MISCONCEIVED, misjudging one; V. iv. 49.

MISER, miserable wretch; V. iv. 7.

MONARCH OF THE NORTH, Lucifer (as in Milton), or perhaps the devil Zimimar, mentioned by Reginald Scot as "the king of the north"; V. iii. 6.

MORTALITY, death; IV. v. 32.

MOTION, offer, proposal; V. i. 7.

MOUTH, bark, bay; II. iv. 12.

MULETERS, mule-drivers (Rowe, *"muleteers"*); III. ii. 68.

MUNITION, ammunition; I. i. 168.

MUSE, marvel, wonder; II. ii. 19.

NEGLECTION, neglect; IV. iii. 49.

NEPHEW, used loosely for cousin (Rowe, *"cousin"*); II. v. 64.

NESTOR-LIKE, *i. e.* like Nestor, the oldest and wisest hero before Troy; II. v. 6.

NOBLE, a gold coin of the value of six shillings and eight pence; V. iv. 23.

NOURISH, probably =“nurse” (often spelled “norice,” or “nurice” in older English); Theobald conjectured *"nourice,"* the French spelling. Steevens states that a stew, in which fish are preserved, was anciently called a *"nourish,"*; (Pope, *"marish,"* the older form of *marsh*); I. i. 50.

OBJECTED, “well o.,” well proposed; II. iv. 43.

OBLOQUY, disgrace; II. v. 49.

OBSTACLE, a vulgar corruption of *"obstinate"* (Walker, *"obstinate"*); V. iv. 17.

OLIVERS AND ROWLANDS, alluding to the two most famous of Charlemagne's peers; I. ii. 30.

ORDER; “take some o.,” make the necessary dispositions, take measures; III. ii. 126.

ORDNANCE, a small gun, cannon; I. iv. 15.

OTHERWHILES, at other times; I. ii. 7.

OVERPEER, look down on; I. iv. 11.

PACKING, “be p.,” go away, make haste; IV. i. 46.

PARTAKER, confederate; II. iv. 100.

PARTIES, parts, sides (Pope, *"parts"*); V. ii. 12.

PARTY, part, side; II. iv. 32.

PATRONAGE, maintain, make good; III. i. 48.

PEEBLE (Ff. 1, 2, *"peeble"*; Ff. 3, 4, *"peble"*); III. i. 80.

PEEL'D, shaven (Ff. *"Piel'd"*; Grey, *"Pied"*; Collier, *"Pill'd"*); I. iii. 30.

PEEVISH, silly, childish; II. iv. 76.

PENDRAGON, the father of King Arthur; III. ii. 95.

PERIAPTS, amulets; V. iii. 2.

PERIOD, end; IV. ii. 17.

PERUSE, examine; IV. ii. 43.

PITCH, height; II. iii. 55.

PITCH A FIELD, “from the custom of planting sharp staves in the ground against the hostile horse came the signification of marshalling, arranging in a military sense” (Schmidt); III. i. 103.

Pithless, without pith, strengthless; II. v. 11.
Platforms, plans, schemes; II. i. 77.
Play'd, played the part; I. vi. 16.
Post, hasten, speed; V. v. 87.
Practisants, fellow plotters (Hanmer, *"partizans"*); III. ii. 20.
Practice, contrive, plot; II. i. 25.
Preferr'd, presented; III. i. 10.
Presently, immediately; I. ii. 149.
Pretend, mean, indicate; (Rowe, *"Portend"*); IV. i. 54.
Prevented, anticipated; IV. i. 71.
Proditor, traitor; I. iii. 31.
Proper, handsome, comely; V. iii. 37.
Purblind, half blind; II. iv. 21.
Pursuivants, forerunners, inferior heralds; II. v. 5.
Puzzel, hussy; I. iv. 107.
Pyramis, pyramid (Rowe, *"pyramid"*); I. vi. 21.

Quaint, fine, pleasant; IV. i. 102.
Quell, destroy; I. i. 163.
Qui est là (Malone's emendation of *"Che la"* of the Ff.; Rowe, *"Qui va là?"*); III. ii. 13.
Quillets, tricks in argument, subtleties; II. iv. 17.
Quittance, requite, retaliate; II. i. 14.

Raging-wood, raving mad; IV. vii. 35.
Rascal-like, like lean and worthless deer; IV. ii. 49.
Reflex, let shine, reflect (Warburton, *"reflect"*); V. iv. 87.
Regard; "your r."; *i. e.* care for your own safety; IV. v. 22.
Reguerdon, reward; III. i. 170.
Remorse, pity; V. iv. 97.
Repugn, oppose; IV. i. 94.
Resolved, convinced, satisfied; III. iv. 20.
Rests, remains; II. i. 75.
Revolve on, be assured of; I. ii. 91.
Rive, discharge (Johnson, *"drive"*; Vaughan, *"rain"*); IV. ii. 29.
Rope; "a rope! a rope!" a cry often taught to parrots, in order to turn a joke against the passer-by; I. iii. 53.
Ruin, fall; IV. vii. 10.

Scruple, doubtful perplexity; V. iii. 93.
Secure, unsuspecting, confident; II. i. 11.
Shot, marksmen; I. iv. 53.
Sirrah, an appellation addressed to inferior persons; III. i. 62.
Smear'd, stained, smirched; (Vaughan, *"snared"*); IV. vii. 3.
Solicit, rouse, stir up. *vide* Note; V. iii. 190.
Sort, choose; II. iii. 27.
Spend, expend, vent; I. ii. 16.
Spleen, fire, impetuosity; IV. vi. 13.
Stand, withstand, resist; I. i. 123.
Stern; "chiefest stern," highest place; I. i. 177.
Still, continually; I. iii. 63.
Stomachs, resentment; I. iii. 90.
Subscribe, submit, yield; II. iv. 44.
Swart, swarthy, dark-complexioned; I. ii. 84.
Sweeting, a term of endearment; III. iii. 21.

Taint, tainted; V. iii. 183.
Talbotites, name given to the English in contempt (Theo-

bald's emendation of Ff., *"Talbonites"*; Hanmer, *"Talbotines"*); III. ii. 28.

TAWNY COATS, coats of a yellowish dark color, the usual livery of ecclesiastical attendants; I. iii. 47.

TEMPER, quality, hardness; II. iv. 13.

TENDERING, having care for (Tyrwhitt, *"Tending"*; Beckett, *"Fending"*); IV. vii. 10.

TIMELESS, untimely; V. iv. 5.

TO, compared to, to equal; III. ii. 25.

TOMYRIS, the Queen of the Massagetoe, by whom Cyrus was slain; II. iii. 6.

TOY, trifle; IV. i. 145.

TRAFFIC, transaction; V. iii. 164.

TRAIN'D, lured; II. iii. 35.

TRIUMPH, tournament; V. v. 31.

UNABLE, weak, impotent; IV. v. 4.

UNACCUSTOM'D, unusual, extraordinary; III. i. 93.

UNAVOIDED, inevitable; IV. v. 8.

UNAWARES, by surprise; III. ii. 39.

UNFALLIBLE, infallible, certain; (Rowe, *"infallible"*); I. ii. 59.

UNKIND, unnatural; IV. i. 193.

UNREADY, undressed; II. i. 39.

VAIL, lower, let fall (Ff. 1, 2, *"vale"*); V. iii. 25.

VANTAGE, advantage, "for v.," to take your time; IV. v. 28.

VAWARD, vanguard; Ff., *"Vauward"*; Theobald conj., *"rereward"* (but probably "vaward" ="in the front line of his own troop"); I. i. 132.

WALLOON, a native of the border-country between the Netherlands and France; (Ff. 1, 2, *"Wallon"*); I. i. 137.

WARRANTIZE, surety; I. iii. 13.

WASHFORD, an old name of Wexford, in Ireland; IV. vii. 63.

WEENING, deeming, thinking; II. v. 88.

WHERE, whereas; (Pope, *"While"*); V. v. 47.

WILL'D, commanded; I. iii. 10.

WINCHESTER GOOSE, a cant term for a swelling in the groin, the result of disease; I. iii. 53.

WITTING, knowing; II. v. 16.

WONT, are wont, accustomed; (Ff., *"Went"*; Vaughan, *"Won"*; Hanmer, *"Watch"*); I. iv. 10.

WOODEN; "a w. thing," "an awkward business, not likely to succeed" (Steevens); V. iii. 89.

WORTHLESS, unworthy; IV. iv. 21.

WOT, know; IV. vi. 32.

WRITHLED, wrinkled; II. iii. 23.

YIELD, admit; II. iv. 42.

STUDY QUESTIONS

By Anne Throop Craig

GENERAL

1. Give an outline of the movements of the successive acts, and the relation of their respective scenes to each other, and to the general action of the whole of Part I of the drama.

2. What gives rise to the contention as to Shakespeare's sole authorship of this play?

3. The influence or the joint work of what other writers is apparent in this play particularly?

4. What are some main evidences either of collaboration; of later revisals of an original text (his own or another's); or merely of manifestation of Shakespeare's period of pupilage as compared with his maturer works?

5. What is Shakespeare's attitude towards Henry VI as developed in the portrayal of his character throughout the play?

6. Was the Bishop of Winchester's policy a disinterested or a selfish one? Who was his powerful friend?

7. In what particulars does Shakespeare's conception of Joan of Arc offend most critics? In what respects is it in keeping with the observation of such phenomena of religious enthusiasm as she represents? What are its fine points?

8. How does Shakespeare show the character of Talbot? What passage in Act II somewhat humorously sets forth the wide terror his name provoked? What other passages?

9. Is Sir John Fastolfe accredited in history with being so great a coward as he is accused of being in the play?

10. Does Talbot seem to carry special force as a type of the honest English feeling?

11. Note in what passages of feeling the flow of verse becomes, as it were, spontaneously rhapsodic. Is this the case in similar passages in all Shakespeare's blank verse? Has it special kinship with any characteristics of Marlowe?

ACT I

12. In what way is the colloquy at the funeral of Henry V dramatically significant?

13. To what general presage in the dramatic development does the threat of the Bishop of Winchester appertain?

14. To what old notion does line 27, scene i, refer? By what political situation is it called up?

15. What custom of scene setting probably suggested the figure used by Bedford in the opening line?

16. How was Henry Beaufort related officially and by birth to the political situation?

17. Why did the death of Henry V release Winchester for the pursuit of his personal ambitions?

18. To what attitude of Winchester in the relation to the two successive kings does Gloucester refer in scene i, lines 33–36?

19. What is the significant dramatic force of Bedford's utterances in scene i, lines 48–51, and his following invocation to Henry V, lines 52–56?

20. What condition is set forth as the root of England's dangerous weakness in the political situation between herself and France in scene i, lines 69–81, and also in Reignier's comments, scene ii, line 17?

21. What is the first impression of La Pucelle from a point of dramatic characterization?

22. Is it evident that Shakespeare intends the Dauphin to seem personally enamored of Joan in addition to admiring her valorous intent?

23. What is shown of the ambitions and characters of

Winchester and Gloucester in the quarrel between them in scene iii? What is the historical account of the broil?

24. To whose retainers does the expression "tawny coats" refer? Where does it occur and in the course of what quarrel?

25. What is the prevailing feeling of Talbot's lines throughout scene v? Does it make the scene dramatically striking as setting the key of the English view of Joan la Pucelle?

ACT II

26. Is the retaking of Orleans after Salisbury's death historically true or an invention for dramatic purposes?

27. Is the scene between the Countess d' Auvergne and Talbot an illuminating one to manifest the force of his personal power and place in the dramatic unfoldment and for its enrichment or is it of merely incidental moment—a bit of dramatic color?

28. In what relations, respectively, to the political situation and to each other did the circumstances of birth and successive office place Richard Plantagenet and John Beaufort?

29. How does the noble restraint in Warwick's championship of Plantagenet in scene iv contrast with the manner of speech of Somerset and his sympathizers? Does it seem intended as well to indicate the nature of Warwick's personal assurance of power throughout all the subsequent action?

30. What are striking characteristics of the treatment of scene iv, dramatically and poetically?

31. In what way is the scene of the death of Mortimer historically incorrect? What probably caused the error?

32. In what light does the poet present the personal character of Richard Plantagenet through his speech and action in scenes iv and v?

33. Note the elegiac and gentle flow of the lines of scene v, yet their conveyance of Mortimer's inspiration to Plantagenet. What dramatic value has this as following

the poetic but vigorous manner of scene iv? How do these two manners, as well as the substance of these scenes, indicate the trend of events and the conflicting tides of feeling that are carrying them on?

ACT III

34. What special element of dramatic force does the opening scene of this act convey?

35. What special speech in scene i is definitely prophetic?

36. What three events actually separated by considerable intervals does the poet combine in scene i?

37. To what previous affair does line 23 in scene i refer?

38. What action taken unforeseeingly by Henry—in this act—is pregnant of his own future ill fate?

39. What does Joan mean to imply by her sarcastic figure about darnel in the corn in scene ii?

40. Is it historically true that Bedford died at the scene of the skirmish before Rouen? Is the whole scene a dramatic fiction? Has it some basis in actual incidents in the war in France? What is its value in picturesqueness and action?

41. How has Shakespeare used the true succession of historical events in this act to suit his purposes of dramatic effect?

42. What passage in scene iv carries on and emphasizes the growing feud of York and Lancaster?

43. Does the scene carrying Burgundy's reversion to the French cause seem too abrupt in its important development to give the effect of even ordinary natural deliberation? Does Joan's sarcastic comment (line 85) appear too weak a remedy for this dramatic ineffectiveness?

ACT IV

44. In the English chronicles was more made of the honor accorded in Paris to Henry's coronation there than was actually understood in France?

45. In the king's final recommendation to the Lords of Somerset and York does the poet seem to put a certain sagacity with regard to the political situation and not merely to present an attitude of timidity on the king's part?

46. Of what formal dramatic method of carrying the narrative and its prophecies does Exeter take the place in scene i, as previously?

47. What powerful dramatic effect is carried in scene II?—especially with relation to the new important turn of events? How do the lines of Talbot and the French general contrast?

48. To what historical fact in the jealous policy of Somerset does York allude in scene iii, line 46?

49. What passage in scene iii sets forth with fine indignation the general realization of the cause of delay in succoring Talbot and lays it at Somerset's door?

50. What is the striking element of the scenes between young Talbot and his father? also of the scene of Talbot's death?

51. What is the main object of the poet apparently in referring the loss of the French provinces so pointedly to the rivalries and enmities among the English nobility?

ACT V

52. Referring to Exeter's exclamation in lines 28 and 29 of scene i, is the disregard of actual intervals of historic time frequently essential to the unity of a dramatic presentation?

53. What historical incidents are connected with the English king's negotiations of marriage with the Earl of Armagnac's daughter?

54. What is the dramatic effect of the silence of the fiends in scene iii?

55. Does the representation of Joan of Arc appear inconsistent as comparing its latter end and its beginning?

56. What is the accepted historical version of the case of Joan of Arc in her final tragedy?

57. How is Suffolk's scene with Margaret (scene iii) significant of the power of the lords over young Henry? What is the characteristic dramatic element of this scene, as compared with the grim tenor of those in the midst of which it is?

58. What quaint passage in Holinshed's *Chronicles* sets forth the estate of King Reignier at the time of his daughter's betrothal to King Henry?

59. What does the poet make the secret underlying cause of Suffolk's effort to bring about the betrothal of Margaret of Anjou and Henry? What political advantage does Suffolk profess openly that he intends it to compass?

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